X xx. 84

43136 / B

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
Wellcome Library

https://archive.org/details/b2877100x_0003

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,

IN TEN VOLUMES,

By the ABBÉ RAYNAL.

Newly tranſlated from the French,

By J. O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

WITH A

NEW SET OF MAPS ADAPTED TO THE WORK,

AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR W. STRAHAN; AND T. CADELL,

IN THE STRAND.

MDCCLXXXIII.

WELLCOME
HISTORICAL
MEDICAL
LIBRARY

CONTENTS

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME.

BOOK V.

Page

TRADE of Denmark, Oſtend, Sweden, Pruſſia, Spain, and Ruſſia, to the Eaſt Indies. Some important inquiries concerning the connections of Europe with India, - 1

Antient revolutions in Denmark, - 3
Denmark begins to carry on a trade with India, 7
Changes the Daniſh trade has undergone in India, 10
Preſent ſtate of the Danes in India, - - 18
Eſtabliſhment of an India company at Oſtend, 27
Cauſes of the deſtruction of the company at Oſtend, 31
Swediſh Eaſt India company. Revolutions in the government of that nation - - 34
The Swedes have a ſhare in the India trade. Manner in which they conduct it, - - 40
Preſent ſtate of Sweden, - - 45
The king of Pruſſia forms an Eaſt India company at Embden. Character of that prince. Fate of his eſtabliſhment, 64
Settlement of the Spaniards in the Philippines. Deſcription of theſe iſlands, - - 72

Page

The Spaniards and Portugueze diſpute the poſſeſſion of the Philippines, - - 74
The Spaniards form ſettlements at the Philippines. Reaſons that have prevented the ſucceſs of them, 77
Preſent ſtate of the Philippines, - 80
Dangers to which the Philippines are expoſed, 83
Advantages that might be made of the Philippines, 87
General idea of Tartary, - - 100
Contentions of the Ruſſians and Chineſe in Tartary, 107
The Ruſſians obtain leave to ſend a caravan to China; and make other openings for carrying on the trade to that kingdom, - - 108
Extent, government, population, and revenues of Ruſſia, 116
General trade of Ruſſia, - - 121
Military ſtrength of Ruſſia, - - - 124
Obſtacles which prevent the proſperity of Ruſſia. Meaſures that might be purſued to ſurmount them, 130
Trade of China with the neighbouring countries, 139
Trade of the Europeans with China, - 144
Account of the knowlege we have acquired concerning the tea which the Europeans purchaſe at China, 146
Origin, nature, and properties of the porcelain which the Europeans purchaſe in China, - 150
The Europeans buy ſilks in China. Their difference from our ſilks, - - 163
The Europeans purchaſe lacquered ware and paper in China. Digreſſion upon the arts of this empire, 168
China ſupplies the Europeans with rhubarb, and other articles, - - 176
Account of the Europeans who have formed connections with China, - - 180
Conjectures concerning the future ſtate of the trade of Europe in China, - - 185
Whether Europe ſhould continue it's trade with India, 188
Whether it be neceſſary that the Europeans ſhould have large eſtabliſhments in India, in order to carry on the trade, 200
Whether Europe ought to lay open the trade to India, or carry it on by excluſive charters, - 219

BOOK

BOOK VI.

Page

Diſcovery of America. Conqueſt of Mexico; and ſettlements of the Spaniards in that part of the New World - - 238

Parallel of antient and modern hiſtory, - ibid.
Antient revolutions of Spain, - - 240
Columbus forms the deſign of diſcovering America, 246
Columbus ſails firſt towards the Canaries. Deſcription of theſe iſlands, - - 248
Arrival of Columbus in the New World, - 252
The Spaniards make their firſt ſettlement in America at San Domingo. Manners of the inhabitants of this iſland, - - - 254
Cruelties committed by the conquerors at San Domingo, and their effects, - - 260
Voyages which led the Spaniards to the knowledge of Mexico, - - 270
The Spaniards land at Mexico. Their firſt engagements are againſt the republic of Tlaſcala, - 276
The Spaniards, after having introduced themſelves into the capital of the empire, are obliged to evacuate it, after ſeveral extraordinary events, - 284
The Spaniards employ other means for ſubduing Mexico, and are ſucceſsful, - - 294
Idea we are to form of Mexico before it ſubmitted to Spain, - - - 300
Progreſs of Mexico under the government of Spain, 336
Of the culture of jalap, - - 339
Of the culture of the vanilla, - - 340
Of the culture of the indigo tree, - 343
Of the culture of the cochineal, - 349
Of the working of the mines, - - 358
What is the reaſon that Mexico hath not riſen to greater proſperity, - - 365
Connections of Mexico with the Philippines, 375

Deſcription

Page

Deſcription of the Marianne Iſlands. Singularities that have been obſerved in them, - 379

Antient and modern ſtate of California, - 390

Communication of Mexico with Peru and with Spain, by means of Guatimala, - - 403

Deſcription of Honduras, Jucatan, and Campeachy. Reaſons of the diſputes between Spain and England in thoſe parts, - - 411

It is chiefly by Vera Cruz that Mexico communicates with Spain. Maxims by which this trade hath been hitherto conducted. - - 419

A PHI-

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BOOK V.

Trade of Denmark, Oſtend, Sweden, Pruſſia, Spain, and Ruſſia, to the Eaſt Indies. Some important inquiries concerning the connections of Europe with India.

THE moſt powerful nations, as well as the largeſt rivers, have been inſignificant in their origin. It would be difficult to produce one ſingle inſtance of a nation, ſince the creation of the world, that has either extended or enriched itſelf, during a long interval of tranquillity, by the progreſs of induſtry alone, or by the mere reſources of it's population. Nature, which makes vultures and doves, creates alſo that ferocious band, that is one day to ruſh upon the peaceful ſociety which has been formed in it's neighbourhood, or which it may meet with in

BOOK V.

it's wandering incurſions. The purity of blood among nations, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, as well as the purity of blood among families, cannot be more than temporary, unleſs kept up by whimſical or religious inſtitutions. A mixture is the neceſſary reſult of an infinite number of cauſes; and from this mixture a race univerſally ſprings up, which is either improved or degenerated, according as the character and manners of the conqueror have adapted themſelves to the character and manners of the conquered; or as the character and manners of the conquered people have given way to thoſe of the conqueror. Among the various cauſes which ſooneſt bring about this intermixture, that which preſents itſelf as the primary and principal one, is emigration; more or leſs excited by the barrenneſs of the ſoil, and the diſagreeableneſs of the reſidence. If the eagle were to find an eaſy ſubſiſtence among the deſert rocks that have been witneſs to his birth, his rapid flight would never have carried him, with his bill half open, and his claws extended, againſt the innocent cattle that feed at the foot of his craggy aſylum But what does this ravenous and warlike bird do, after he has ſeized his prey? He repairs anew to the ſummit of his rock, from whence he only deſcends when he is again ſolicited by want. It is in the ſame manner that the ſavage treats his civilized neighbour; and his plunder would be perpetual, if nature had not placed between the inhabitant of one region and that of another, between the man of the mountain, and the man who dwells

in the valley or among the fens; the ſame barrier that ſeparates the different ſpecies of animals.

Antient revolutions in Denmark.

It is the general opinion, that, in the earlieſt times, a people called the Cimbri poſſeſſed, at the extremity of Germania, the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, now know'n by the name of Holſtein, Sleſwic, and Jutland; and that the Teutones lived in the adjacent iſlands. Whether theſe people had, or had not, a common origin, it is certain, that they came out of their foreſts, or out of their marſhes, in a collective body, and as one nation, and penetrated among the Gauls, in queſt of plunder, glory, and a milder climate. They were even preparing to croſs the Alps, when Rome judged it neceſſary to ſtem a torrent which carried all before it. Thoſe barbarians triumphed over all the generals that proud republic ſent to oppoſe them, till the memorable æra when they were totally defeated by Marius.

Their country, which became almoſt a deſert after that terrible cataſtrophe, was peopled again by the Scythians, who, being driven by Pompey out of that vaſt ſpace between the Euxine and the Caſpian ſea, marched towards the north and weſt of Europe, ſubduing all the nations they found in their way. They conquered Ruſſia, Saxony, Weſtphalia, the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, and the countries as far as Finland, Norway, and Sweden. It is pretended that Wodin, their leader, traverſed ſo many countries, and endeavoured to ſubdue them, only with a view to ſtimulate the people againſt the formidable, odious, and tyrannical power of the Romans. That ſpirit of animoſity, which he

BOOK V.

had excited in the north, operated ſecretly with ſo much force after his death, that in a few centuries all nations agreed to turn their arms againſt that empire, the declared enemy of all liberty; and, after having ſhaken it by repeated attacks, were at length ſucceſsful enough totally to ſubvert it.

Denmark and Norway remained without inhabitants after theſe glorious expeditions. By inſenſible degrees they recovered their former ſtate, and began to be of ſome conſequence again towards the beginning of the eighth century. Their valour now exerted itſelf, not on land, but on the ocean. Surrounded as they were by two ſeas, they commenced pirates, which is always the firſt ſtep towards navigation in uncivilized nations.

They firſt made trial of their ſtrength againſt the neighbouring ſtates, and ſeized the few merchant ſhips they found ſailing up and down the Baltic. Emboldened by theſe ſucceſſes, they were enabled to plan more conſiderable undertakings. They infeſted the ſeas and coaſts of Scotland, Ireland, England, Flanders, France, and even of Spain, Italy, and Greece. They frequently penetrated into the inland parts of thoſe extenſive countries, and even ventured upon the conqueſt of Normandy and England. Notwithſtanding the confuſion that reigns in the annals of thoſe barbarous times, we may ſtill trace ſome of the cauſes of ſo many extraordinary events.

The inhabitants of Denmark and Norway had originally a ſtrong propenſity to piracy, which has always

always been obſerved in people bordering upon the ſea, when they are not reſtrained by civilization and good laws. Cuſtom muſt neceſſarily have made the ocean familiar to them, and inured them to it's ſtorms. Having no agriculture, breeding but few cattle, and finding but a ſcanty reſource from the chace, in a country covered with ice and ſnow, they could have no ſtrong attachment to their native land. The facility with which they built their ſhips, which were nothing more than rafts coarſely put together for the purpoſe of ſailing along the coaſts, enabled them to go to all parts, to land their forces, to plunder, and to reimbark. Piracy was to them, what it had been to the firſt heroes of Greece, the road to glory and fortune; an honourable profeſſion, which conſiſted in a contempt of all danger. This idea inſpired them with invincible courage in their expeditions, ſometimes carried on under the joint command of different chiefs, and ſometimes divided into as many armaments as nations. Theſe ſudden attacks, made in a variety of places at the ſame time, left only to the inhabitants of the coaſts, which were but ill defended, in conſequence of their being under a bad government, the dreadful alternative either of being maſſacred, or giving up all their property to redeem their lives.

This propenſity to plunder was a natural conſequence of the ſavage life of the Danes and Norwegians, and of the rough and military education they received; but it was more particularly the effect of the religion of Wodin. That

BOOK V.

victorious impoſtor improved, if we may be allowed to ſay ſo, the natural fierceneſs of thoſe nations by his ſanguinary tenets. He ordered that all the implements of war, ſuch as ſwords, axes, and lances, ſhould be deified. The moſt ſacred engagements were confirmed by theſe inſtruments which they ſo highly valued. A lance ſet up in the middle of a plain, was the ſignal for prayer and ſacrifice. Wodin himſelf at his death was ranked among the immortal gods, and was the firſt deity of thoſe horrid regions, where the rocks and woods were ſtained and conſecrated with human blood. His followers thought they honoured him by calling him the god of armies, the father of ſlaughter, the deſtroyer of mankind, the promoter of diſcord. The warriors, when they went to battle, made a vow to ſend him a certain number of ſouls, which they devoted to him. Theſe ſouls were the right of Wodin. It was the general belief, that he appeared in every battle, either to protect thoſe who fought valiantly, or to mark out the happy victims he reſerved for himſelf; that theſe followed him to the regions of bliſs, which were open to none but warriors. The people ran to death, and to martyrdom, to obtain this reward. This belief increaſed their natural propenſity to war, till it grew to enthuſiaſm, and to a religious thirſt for blood.

CHRISTIANITY overthrew all the ideas reſulting from ſuch a ſyſtem. It's miſſionaries endeavoured to bring their proſelytes to a ſedentary life, that they might be fit to receive their inſtruc-

tions.

tions. They gave them a diſguſt for their roving life, by ſuggeſting to them other means of ſubſiſtence. They were ſo fortunate as to inſpire them with a love of agriculture, and more eſpecially of fiſhing. The great plenty of herrings, which then came in ſhoals to their coaſts, afforded them an eaſy means of procuring food. When they had ſet apart a ſufficient quantity of theſe fiſh for their own uſe, in order to preſerve it, they bartered the remainder for ſalt. This intercourſe was encouraged at it's riſe by one common faith, new proſpects, mutual wants, and great ſecurity. Such a total revolution enſued, that, ſince the converſion of the Danes and Norwegians, not a ſingle inſtance is to be found in hiſtory of their expeditions and depredations.

THE new ſpirit, which ſeemed to animate Norway and Denmark, could not fail of extending their communication with the other nations of Europe. Unfortunately it was intercepted by the aſcendant which the Hanſe towns had acquired. Even when that great and ſingular confederacy fell into decay, Hamburgh ſtill maintained the ſuperiority it had obtained over all the ſubjects of the Daniſh dominions. They were beginning to break the bands that had ſubjected them to this kind of monopoly, when they were induced to undertake the navigation to the Eaſt Indies by an incident that deſerves to be noticed.

Denmark begins to carry on a trade with India.

A DUTCH factor, named Boſchower, being ſent by his nation to conclude a treaty of commerce with the king of Ceylon, ſo ingratiated himſelf with that monarch, that he became chief of his

BOOK V.

council, his admiral, and was created prince of Mingone. Boſchower, intoxicated with theſe honours, haſtened to Europe, to make a parade of them before his countrymen. He took great offence at the coldneſs with which thoſe republicans received the titled ſlave of an Aſiatic court; and was ſo highly provoked at it, that he went over to Chriſtiern IV. king of Denmark, and offered him his ſervices, and the intereſt he had at Ceylon. His propoſals were accepted. He ſailed in 1618, with ſix ſhips, three of which belonged to the government, and three to the Company that had aſſociated themſelves to carry on a trade to India. His death, which happened in their paſſage, put an end to the hopes they had conceived. The Danes met with a very bad reception at Ceylon; and their chief, Ové Giedde de Tommerup, ſaw no other reſource than to carry them to Tanjour, a part of the continent neareſt to that iſland.

TANJOUR is a ſmall ſtate, which is but a hundred miles in it's greateſt length, and eighty in it's greateſt breadth. It is of all that coaſt the province that bears the greateſt quantity of rice. This natural wealth, added to a variety of uſeful manufactures, and a great plenty of roots for dying, makes the public revenue amount to near five millions of livres*. It's fertility is owen to it's being watered by the Caveri, a river which comes down from the mountains of Gate. At upwards of four hundred miles from the head, it

* 208,333 l. 6s. 8d.

divides into two ſtreams. At the entrance of Tanjour, the eaſtern branch takes the name of Coleroon. The other retains the name of Caveri, and ſubdivides again into four branches, which all flow within the kingdom, and preſerve it from that terrible drought which burns up the reſt of Coromandel for the greateſt part of the year.

This happy ſituation made the Danes wiſh to form a ſettlement in Tanjour. Their propoſals met with a favourable reception. They obtained a fruitful and populous territory; on which they built Tranquebar, and afterwards the fortreſs of Dannebourg, ſufficient for the defence both of the road and the town. On their part, they engaged to pay an annual homage of two thouſand pagodas, or ſixteen thouſand eight hundred livres* which is continued to this time.

Circumstances were favourable for eſtabliſhing a large commerce. The Portuguſe, who groaned under the oppreſſion of a foreign yoke, made only feeble efforts to preſerve their poſſeſſions; the Spaniards ſent no ſhips but to the Molucca and Philippine iſlands; and the Dutch were ſolely intent upon engroſſing the ſpice trade. The Engliſh felt the effects of the diſturbances their country laboured under, even in India. All theſe powers could not ſee this new rival without regret, but none oppoſed it.

In conſequence of this, the Danes, who began with a capital of no more than 853,263 livres†, carried on rather a conſiderable trade in all parts

* 700l. † 35,552l. 12s. 6d.

of

BOOK V.

of India. Unfortunately the Dutch Company acquired ſuch a ſuperiority, as to exclude them from the markets where they had traded moſt advantageouſly; and, by a ſtill greater misfortune, the diſſentions, that rent the north of Europe, would not permit the mother-country to attend to ſuch remote concerns as thoſe of this ſettlement. The Danes at Tranquebar inſenſibly fell into contempt, both with the natives, who value men only in proportion to their riches, and with the rival nations, whoſe competition they could not ſuſtain. They were diſcouraged by this inferiority; and the Company gave up it's charter, and made over it's ſettlements to the government, as an indemnification for the ſums it had advanced.

Changes the Daniſh trade has undergone in India.

A NEW Company was formed in 1670 upon the ruins of the old one. Chriſtiern V. gave them, in ſhips and other effects, to the value of three hundred and ten thouſand eight hundred and twenty-eight livres, ten ſous *; and the adventurers advanced ſeven hundred and thirty-two thouſand ſix hundred livres †. This ſecond undertaking, which was entered upon without a ſufficient fund, proved ſtill more unſucceſsful than the firſt. After a few voyages, the factory of Tranquebar was left to itſelf. Their ſmall territory, and two veſſels that they freighted for the merchants of that country, were the only means they had to ſupply the inhabitants and their garriſon. Theſe reſources ſometimes failed them;

* 12,951 l. 3 s. 9 d. † 30,525 l.

and,

and, to ſave themſelves from the effects of famine, they were reduced to mortagage three of the four baſtions that conſtituted their fortreſs. They were ſcarce able to fit out a ſhip for Europe once in three years with a very moderate cargo.

PITY ſeemed to be the only ſentiment that ſo deſperate a ſituation could inſpire. But the ever watchful jealouſy and ſuſpicious avarice of other nations, ſtirred up an odious war againſt the Danes. The Raja of Tanjour, who had frequently intercepted their communication with his territory, attacked them in 1689, in the very town of Tranquebar, at the inſtigation of the Dutch. That prince had nearly taken the place after a ſix months ſiege, when it was ſuccoured and ſaved by the Engliſh. This event neither was, nor could be, attended with any important conſequences. The Daniſh Company declined daily, and was at length annihilated in 1730, but not till after it had become bankrupt.

Two years after this, a new Company was formed. The favours that were heaped upon it, to enable it to carry on a free and advantageous trade, plainly ſhew of what importance this commerce appeared to the government. The charter of the Company was ſettled for forty years. Whatever belonged to the fitting out of their ſhips was exempted from all duties. The workmen they employed, whether natives or foreigners, were not tied down to the regulations of particular companies, which were a reſtraint upon induſtry in Denmark, as well as in other countries of Europe. They were not obliged to uſe ſtampt paper

BOOK V.

per in their tranſactions. They had an abſolute juriſdiction over the perſons they employed; and the ſentences paſſed by the directors were not liable to be reverſed, unleſs the puniſhment were capital. To remove even the appearance of conſtraint, the ſovereign renounced the right he had of interfering in the adminiſtration of their affairs, as being chief proprietor. He retained no influence in the choice of officers, whether civil or military, and only reſerved to himſelf a power of confirming the office of governor of Tranquebar. He even bound himſelf to ratify all political conventions they might think proper to make with the Aſiatic powers.

In return for ſo many indulgences, government only required one per cent. upon all merchandize of India and China which ſhould be ſent abroad, and two and a half per cent. upon all that ſhould be conſumed at home.

The grant containing the above conditions was no ſooner confirmed, than it became neceſſary to find adventurers. This was a difficult point; for the trade to India had hitherto proved ſo unſucceſsful, that men of property muſt have been totally averſe from engaging their fortunes in it. A new idea was ſuggeſted to alter this diſpoſition. The ſtock was diſtinguiſhed into two different kinds. The firſt, called *fixed*, was that in which all the effects the old Company had in Europe and Aſia were deſtined to be veſted. The other ſtock was called *variable*, becauſe every year it was regulated by the number, and the cargoes of the ſhips that ſhould be fitted out. Every proprietor

prietor might chuſe whether he would be concerned in theſe expeditions, the profits of which were ſettled at the cloſe of every voyage. By this arrangement, the Company became permanent by the *fixed*, and annual by the *variable* ſtock.

It ſeemed a difficult matter to ſtate the ſhare of expence that each of theſe funds was to bear. Every thing was ſettled with more eaſe than had been expected. It was agreed that the *variable* ſtock ſhould only pay the neceſſary expences for the purchaſe, the fitting out, and the cargoes of the ſhips. All other charges were to be defrayed from the *fixed* ſtock, which, by way of compenſation, was to take up ten per cent. upon all India goods which ſhould be ſold in Europe, and five per cent. upon all that ſhould be ſent out from Tranquebar.

The capital of the new Company amounted to 3,240,000 livres *, divided into ſixteen hundred ſhares, of 2,025 livres † each.

With theſe funds, which were always in circulation, the proprietors, during the forty years of their charter, fitted out eight hundred ſhips. The expence of theſe veſſels in money roſe to 87,333,637 livres 10 ſols ‡, and in merchandiſe, to 10,580,094 livres §, which in the whole made 97,913,731 livres 10 ſols ‖. The returns were ſold for 188,939,673 livres **. Of this Denmark only conſumed 35,450,262 livres ††; therefore the

* 135,000l. † 84l. 7s. 6d. ‡ 3,638,901l. 11s. 3d.
§ 440,837l. 5s. ‖ 4,079,850l. ** 7,872,486l. 7s. 6d.
†† 1,477,094l. 5s.

value

BOOK V.

value of 153,489,411 livres * of it was exported. Let us make a freſh diviſion, and we ſhall find, that the annual ſales have amounted to the ſum of 4,723,491 livres 16 ſols †; that of this, the country has only conſumed annually to the value of 886,250 livres 10 ſols ‡; and that foreign nations have carried off to the amount of 3,837,235 livres 10 ſols §.

THE dividends were very irregular, during all the time that the charter laſted. They would have been more conſiderable, if part of the profits had not been conſtantly appropriated to the extenſion of the trade. By this prudent and conſiderate conduct, the fortunate proprietors trebled their capitals. Their ſtock would have been increaſed with the additional ſum of 2,000,000 of livres ‖, if in 1754, the Daniſh miniſtry had not prevailed upon the directors to erect a ſtatue to King Frederic V.

WHEN I reflect upon theſe public monuments conſecrated to a ſovereign in his life time, his want of modeſty always occurs to my mind. When a prince orders them himſelf, it ſeems as if he ſaid to his people, 'I am a great man; I am a 'great king. It is impoſſible for me to preſent 'myſelf every day to your view, and to receive 'the ſplendid teſtimony of your admiration and 'affection. But here is my image. Get round 'it, and ſatisfy yourſelves. When I ſhall be 'no more, you will conduct your child to the

* 6,313,392 l. 2 s. 6 d.
† 196,812 l. 3 s. 2 d.
‡ 36,927 l. 2 s. 1 d.
§ 159,884 l. 16 s. 3 d.
‖ 83,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

'foot

'foot of my ſtatue, and you will ſay to him: 'Behold, my ſon, and conſider him attentively. 'This is the man who repulſed the enemies of 'the ſtate, who commanded it's armies in per- 'ſon; who paid the debts of his anceſtors; who 'fertilized our fields; who protected our farmers; 'who laid no reſtraint upon our conſcience; who 'permitted us to live in happineſs, freedom, 'and opulence; let his name for ever be bleſt!'

What inſolent vanity is this, even if it be true! What impudence if it be not! But how few would there be of theſe monuments, had they only been erected to princes who deſerved them? If all the others were taken down, how few would remain? If truth had dictated the inſcriptions that are placed around them, what ſhould we read? "To Nero, after he had aſſaſſinated his "mother, killed his wife, ſlain his preceptor, and "imbrued his hands in the blood of the moſt "worthy citizens." You ſhudder with horror. Alas! vile people, why am I not allowed to ſubſtitute true inſcriptions in the place of thoſe with which you have decorated the monuments of your ſovereigns. You would not read of the ſame crimes; but you would read of others, and you would ſhudder again.

Here I would write, as formerly, upon Pompey's column: "To Pompey, after he had maſ- "ſacred three millions of men." There I would write—Baſe mortals, are you then afraid that your maſters ſhould bluſh for their wickedneſs? When you pay them ſuch homage, how is it poſſible they ſhould think that you are unhappy?

How

BOOK V.

How ſhould they not imagine that they are the idols of your hearts, when, by your acclamations, you give your approbation to the ſervility of the courtiers.

But the people will anſwer, "Theſe monuments are not erected by us. We ſhould never have thought of conferring the honour of a ſtatue on a tyrant who kept us plunged in miſery, and to whom our profound ſilence, when he paſſed through our city in perſon, ſo frequently announced the indignation we felt. It cannot be imagined that we ſhould have been ſo mad, after he had exhauſted us nearly of all our means of ſubſiſtence, to throw away the few we had ſtill remanining upon a caſt."

Monarchs, if ye are good, ye may be aſſured of the ſtatue which ye raiſe to yourſelves. The nation, whoſe happineſs you have created, will grant it to you a century after your death, when your actions ſhall have been tried at the tribunal of hiſtory. If ye are bad and vicious, you only perpetuate the memory of your wickedneſs and your vices. The ſovereign, who is poſſeſſed of any degree of dignity, will wait. He who is poſſeſſed of true greatneſs of ſoul, would perhaps diſdain a ſpecies of incenſe indiſcriminately beſtowed in all ages upon vice and virtue. While the inſcription was engraving round his ſtatue, TO THE MOST HIGH, MOST WORTHY, MOST PUISSANT, MOST GLORIOUS, MOST MAGNIFICENT PRINCE, &c. he would recollect, that the ſame titles were engraved under the ſtatue of a Tiberius, a Domitian, or a Caligula; and he would exclaim with a worthy Roman,

man, " Spare me a homage that is too ſuſpicious. " Let me have no tainted honours. My temple " is in your hearts. There it is that my image " is beautiful, and that it will laſt."

And, indeed, with whatever ſolidity monuments may be conſtructed, ſooner or later the hand of Time ſtrikes and overturns them. On the contrary, the edge of his ſcythe is blunted againſt the page of hiſtory. It can have no effect upon the heart, or upon the memory of man. His veneration is tranſmitted from age to age; and ſucceeding centuries are perpetually repeating it. Proud waters of the Seine, ſwell yourſelves if ye dare: ye may ſweep away our bridges, and even the ſtatue of Henry: but his name will remain. It is before the image of this great king that the people, impreſſed with tender ſentiments, and the ſtranger, ſtop. If the other monuments, ſovereigns, that are conſecrated to you, are alſo viſited, do not miſtake the intention. Men do not come to honour your perſons; they come to admire the workmanſhip of the art: regretting, at the ſame time, that ſo ſublime a talent which ſhould devote itſelf to virtue, ſhould be ſo meanly proſtituted to vice. At the foot of your ſtatue, what can the citizen or the ſtranger think, when he ſees himſelf ſurrounded by a ſet of wretches whoſe aſpect diſcovers their miſery, and whoſe plaintive accents ſolicit a trifling aſſiſtance? Is it not, as if they ſaid to him: BEHOLD, AND RELIEVE THE DISTRESS WHICH THIS MAN OF BRONZE HAS BROUGHT UPON US? Erect ſtatues to the great men of your nation, and your's will be looked for among them. But in countries

BOOK V.

ſubmitted to tyranny there is but one man and one ſtatue. There, the bronze ſpeaks, and the marble exclaims: PEOPLE, LEARN THAT I AM ALL, AND THAT YOU ARE NOTHING. Let me be excuſed for this digreſſion. The fate of a writer would be too hard, if he were not ſometimes allowed to give way to the ſentiment that oppreſſes him.

Preſent ſtate of the Danes in India.

WHEN the charter of the Company expired on the 12th of April 1772, a new one was given them, but only for twenty years. Some reſtraints were alſo laid upon the favours they had before enjoyed.

EXCEPTING the trade to China, which ſtill continues excluſive, the Indian ſeas are open to all the citizens, and to others who wiſh to ſhare in their undertakings. But in order to be intitled to this liberty, it is neceſſary to employ no ſhips but what are built in one of the ports of the kingdom; to embark upon each veſſel to the value of thirteen thouſand five hundred livres *, at leaſt, in merchandiſe of the national manufacture; to pay to the Company ſixty-ſeven livres ten ſols † per laſt, or two per cent of the value of the cargo upon it's going out, and eight per cent. at it's return. Individuals are alſo allowed to trade from one part of India to another, by paying a duty of entrance of four per cent. on the productions of Aſia, and two per cent. on thoſe of Europe, in all the Daniſh ſettlements. If the court of Copenhagen, as there can be no doubt, have made theſe arrangements only with a view of encouraging

* 562 l. 10 s. † 21. 16 s. 3 d.

couraging their factories, experience muſt have convinced them of their miſtake.

THE Company was formerly exempt from the duties ſettled upon all articles employed in the building and victualling of ſhips. They have been deprived of an exemption which was attended with too many inconveniences. They receive, as an indemnity, ſixty-ſeven livres ten ſols * per laſt, and thirteen livres ten ſols † for each of the perſons compoſing the crews of their ſhips. On the other hand, they are obliged to export upon each of their veſſels diſpatched to India to the value of thirteen thouſand five hundred livres ‡ of mercantile articles fabricated in the kingdom; and to the amount of eighteen thouſand livres § upon each of the ſhips deſtined for China.

THE cuſtoms fixed for the productions of Aſia which were conſumed in Denmark, or ſent to other parts, and which were formerly different, are at preſent equal. They all of them pay two per cent. without any regard to the place of their deſtination. The government has alſo reſerved to itſelf the privilege of being the arbiter of the cuſtoms, which the ſilks and coffees, deſtined for the ſtate, ſhould be obliged to pay. This reſtriction is intended to favour the intereſt of the American iſlands, and of the national manufactures.

THE king has given up the practice he had of placing annually, in the Company's trade, the ſum of about one hundred thouſand livres ‖; from

* 2l. 16s. 3d. † 11s. 3d. ‡ 562l. 10s.
§ 750l. ‖ 4,166l. 13s. 4d.

BOOK V.

which he uſually derived a benefit of twenty per cent. To indemnify him for this ſacrifice, when the Company fit out but one ſhip, they will add to his private cheſt twenty-two thouſand five hundred livres * ; when they ſend two, they will pay him thirty-ſix thouſand livres † ; and forty-five thouſand livres ‡ when they diſpatch three, or a greater number.

UNDER the former adminiſtration, a proprietor of one ſhare was intitled to vote at the general meetings. Three ſhares carried two votes, five ſhares three, and ſo on in the ſame proportion to twelve votes, which number no proprietor could ever go beyond, whatever intereſt he might have in the ſtocks of the Company. But the votes of abſentees or foreigners were admitted upon producing a power of attorney from them. The conſequence of this practice was, that a few merchants reſiding at Copenhagen, were the rulers of all the deliberations. This evil has been remedied, by reducing the number of votes any one proprietor may have, either for himſelf, or by proxy, to three.

SUCH are the new views which diſtinguiſh the late charter from thoſe that have preceded it. The example of the miniſtry has influenced the conduct of the proprietors, who have alſo made ſome remarkable alterations in their adminiſtration.

THE diſtinction eſtabliſhed between the fixt and the variable ſtock reduced the Company to a precarious ſtate, ſince the proprietors were at li-

* 937l. 10s. † 1,500l. ‡ 1,875l.

berty,

berty, after every voyage, to withdraw the latter, which ſerved as the baſis of the operations. To give this body a more ſolid conſtitution, theſe two ſtocks have been confounded. Hereafter, the proprietors will not have it in their power to claim any part of their capital, 'till the expiration of their charter. Thoſe among them, who, for any poſſible reaſon, may wiſh to leſſen the riſque, will be obliged to ſell their ſhares, as it is the conſtant practice every where elſe.

At the expiration of the laſt charter, the Company had a capital of 11,906,059 livres *, divided into ſixteen hundred ſhares, each of the value of about 7,425 livres †. The price of the ſhare was evidently too high in a country where the fortunes of individuals are inconſiderable. This inconvenience has been remedied, by dividing each ſhare into three parts; ſo that there are at preſent four thouſand eight hundred ſhares, the price of which, for greater ſecurity, has been only rated in the books at 2,250 livres ‡. This alteration muſt have facilitated the purchaſe and the ſale of them, by increaſing the circulation and the value.

The project of raiſing the Daniſh ſettlements in India to a greater degree of proſperity than they had hitherto attained, has next been taken into conſideration. In order to effect this, it has been regulated, that 2,250,000 livres §, including their eſtimated value of 900,000 livres ‖, ſhould conſtantly be left there. The profits accruing

* 496,085 l. 15 s. 10 d. † 309 l. 7 s. 6 d. ‡ 93 l. 15 s.
§ 93,750 l. ‖ 37,500 l.

BOOK V.

from this ſtock are to remain during ten years, and to be applied to the increaſe of the capital, and no dividends are to be made of them.

'Till theſe latter times, the ſhips fitted out in Europe for China, uſed always to carry with them the factors who were to make up the cargoes. It has judiciouſly been imagined, that agents reſiding among theſe celebrated people, would enter more into the ſpirit of the nation; and would make their ſales and purchaſes with greater facility and advantage. In this view, four factors have been fixed at Canton, to manage there the intereſts of the Company that has choſen them.

The Danes had formerly a ſmall ſettlement on the iſlands of Nicobar. The expence of it was trifling, but it yielded nothing; and therefore has very prudently been given up.

The Company had contracted the habit of granting, upon mortage, a credit of ſeveral years to the purchaſers. This indulgence frequently obliged them to borrow conſiderable ſums at Amſterdam, or at Copenhagen. A practice unknow'n to the rival nations has been violently oppoſed. It would have been dangerous, perhas, to give it up entirely; but it has been reſtrained within ſuch narrow bounds, that it can no longer create miſtruſt.

To theſe principles of commerce, much ſuperior to thoſe that were followed before, the Company have added the advantages of a direction better regulated, more enlightened, and more cloſely ſuperintended.

UNIVERSAL confidence has been the reſult of theſe prudent combinations. Although the dividend has riſen no higher than eight per cent. in 1773, and ten per cent. in 1774 and 1775, yet there has been a profit of twenty-five and thirty per cent. upon the ſhares. Their price would in all probability have been ſtill higher, if the internal peace of the ſociety had not of late been ſo ſcandalouſly diſturbed.

THE old Company confined their operations to the trade of China. Among all thoſe they had to chooſe, this was the one in which they had the leaſt riſque to run, and the greateſt profit to expect. Without giving up this ſource of riches, other means of acquiring them, which had been too long neglected, have been purſued.

THE coaſt of Malabar, it is true, has not taken up much of the attention of the Company. Formerly, no more than ſixty thouſand weight of pepper were annually draw'n from Coleſchey and Calicut. Theſe purchaſes have not had any conſiderable increaſe, but there was reaſon to hope that affairs would wear a more promiſing aſpect in Bengal.

THE Danes had but juſt made their appearance in the Indies, when they fixed themſelves at Chinchurat, upon the borders of the Ganges. Their misfortunes drove them from this opulent region during more than a century. They came there again in 1755, with a deſire of fixing themſelves at Bankibaſar, which had belonged to the Oſtend Company. Commercial jealouſy, which is become the ruling paſſion of our times, fruſtrated

BOOK V.

their deſigns, and they were reduced to the neceſſity of founding Frederic-Nagor in the neighbourhood. This factory coſt annually 22,500 livres * more than was collected from it's territory and the cuſtoms; and this expence, though inconſiderable, was ſtill greater than the tranſactions would bear. The care that was taken, after the renewal of the charter, to ſend ſome money to this too much neglected ſettlement, began to give it ſome ſhare of animation; but it ſoon fell again to nothing. It's deſtruction is owen to it's having been placed in a ſtate of abſolute dependence upon Tranquebar.

This firſt of the Daniſh colonies has an excellent territory, which, though only two leagues in circumference, had formerly a population of thirty thouſand perſons. There were even ten thouſand of theſe in the city itſelf. Rather a greater number were found in a large village, filled with coarſe manufactures. The remainder were uſefully employed in ſome places of leſs conſequence. Theſe, with three hundred workmen, factors, merchants, or ſoldiers, were all the Europeans fixed in the ſettlement. It's revenue amounted to 100,000 livres †, and was ſufficient for it's expences.

In proceſs of time, confuſion took place in the colony, which yielded leſs, and coſt twice as much. The adventurers went away; the manufactures languiſhed, the purchaſes were diminiſhed, and a very ſcanty profit only was obtained

* 937 l. 10 s.

† 4,166 l. 13 s. 4 d.

upon

upon thoſe that were ordered at diſtant periods. Impoſſible as it was to make any advances to the workmen, it was neceſſary to pay for the merchandize five-and-twenty or thirty per cent. dearer than if the cuſtoms of the country had been complied with.

Since the year 1772, the aſpect of Tranquebar has been changed. A ſmall degree of liberty, ſome ſtock, a better adminiſtration, and an increaſe of territory, combined with other cauſes, have improved it's condition. But it's deſtiny, any more than that of the ſociety which regulates it, will never be brilliant.

The local poſition of Denmark, the diſpoſition of it's inhabitants, the degree of it's power relatively conſidered; every circumſtance, in a word, is unfavourable to it's carrying on a great trade with India. Are it's provinces ſufficiently rich to furniſh the ſums neceſſary for large undertakings; or will foreigners truſt their property with a ſociety, ſubject to the caprice, and expoſed to the vexations of unlimited authority? It is in the nature of a deſpotic government to diſſolve the ties which ought to unite nations; and when once this ſpring is deſtroyed, it can never be reſtored. It is mutual confidence which draws men together, and combines their intereſts; and arbitrary power is incompatible with this confidence, becauſe it puts an end to all ſecurity.

The project formed in 1728, of transferring from Copenhagen to Altena the ſeat of the Aſiatic trade, might poſſibly be attended with ſome advantages; but could not remove any of the obſtacles

BOOK V.

ſtacles we have been mentioning. We may therefore venture to affirm, that England and Holland were guilty of a needleſs act of tyranny, when they oppoſed this domeſtic plan of a free and independent power.

CAN the man who has any concern for mankind, and who is not poſſeſſed of the narrow ſoul of a monk, to whom the circuit of his cloiſtered priſon is all, and the reſt of the univerſe is nothing; can ſuch a one conceive any thing more abſurd and more cruel than this infamous jealouſy of the great powers; this horrible abuſe of their ſtrength, in preventing feeble ſtates from improving their condition? The individual who ſhould think of acting the ſame part in the midſt of his country, which they do among other nations, would be looked upon as the moſt execrable of malefactors. Engliſh, French, Dutch, Spaniards, and Germans, this is the honeſt motive for which you take up arms, and maſſacre each other! It is to determine which of you ſhall retain the excluſive privilege of tyranny, and the monopoly of proſperity. I am aware that you colour this atrocious project with the pretence of providing for your own ſecurity: but how can you be credited, when it is evident that you ſet no bounds to your ambition; and that the more powerful you are, the more imperious you become? You are not ſatisfied with requiring every thing that it is your own private intereſt to obtain, your pride ſometimes prompts you to aſk what it would be ſhameful to grant. You do not conſider that a people cannot be degraded without fatal conſequences.

Their

Their honour may ly dormant for a time; but ſooner or later it will be rouzed, and they will avenge themſelves: and as humiliation is the moſt offenſive of all injuries, ſo it is that which is moſt ſeverely felt, and moſt cruelly revenged.

Eſtabliſhment of an India Company at Oſtend.

That knowlege of trade and government, and that ſound philoſophy, which inſenſibly ſpread over all Europe, met with invincible obſtacles in ſome monarchies. Theſe improvements could not reach the court of Vienna, which was wholly intent upon projects of war and aggrandizement, by conqueſts. The Engliſh and Dutch, whoſe attention was engaged in preventing France from increaſing her commerce, her ſettlements, and her navy, excited enemies againſt her on the continent, and laviſhed immenſe ſums upon the houſe of Auſtria, which were employed againſt France: but, at the peace, the luxury of one crown reſtored more riches to the other than it had taken from it by the war.

The power of the houſe of Auſtria, which ought to be formidable from the extent of it's dominions, is confined by reaſon of it's ſituation; for moſt of it's provinces are diſtant from the ſea. The ſoil of the country yields but a ſmall quantity of wine, and few of the productions that are ſo much valued by other nations. It affords neither oil, ſilk, nor fine wool, which are in ſo much repute. This ſtate had no pretenſions to opulence, and knew not how to be frugal. With the uſual luxury and pomp of great courts, it gave no encouragement to induſtry and manufactures, which might have ſupplied the means of indul-

BOOK V.

ging that expenſive taſte. The contempt which it has always ſhew'n for the ſciences, prevented it's progreſs in every thing. Artiſts will never be eminent in any country where they are not aſſiſted by men of learning. Sciences and arts muſt both languiſh, wherever a freedom of thinking is not allowed. The pride and intolerant ſpirit of the Houſe of Auſtria kept her vaſt domains in a ſtate of poverty, ſuperſtition, and a rude kind of luxury.

Even the Low Countries, formerly ſo celebrated for their activity and induſtry, retained nothing of their ancient ſplendour. The traveller, who went to Antwerp, beheld with aſtoniſhment the ruins of a city formerly ſo flouriſhing. He compared it's exchange with the ſuperb edifices of paganiſm, after the abolition of idolatry. It preſented the ſame ſolitude, the ſame majeſty. The indigent and melancholy citizens were obſerved walking about it, as under Conſtantine, the tattered prieſts were ſeen roaming around their deſerted temples, or ſitting at the foot of the altars where the hecatombs had been ſacrificed, and telling the people their fortunes for a ſmall piece of copper. Antwerp, which had been, for two centuries, the ſtore-houſe of the north, had not now a ſingle ſhip in it's harbour. Bruſſels and Louvain, far from ſupplying other nations with their clothing, bought their own of the Engliſh. That valuable article, the herring-fiſhery, had paſſed from Bruges to Holland. Ghent, Courtray, and ſome other towns, found their linen and

and lace manufactures decreaſe daily. Thoſe provinces, placed between the three moſt enlightened and moſt trading nations in Europe, had not been able, with all their natural advantages, to ſupport ſo powerful a competition. After ſtriving ſome time againſt oppreſſion, againſt impediments multiplied by ignorance, and againſt the privileges which a rapacious neighbour extorted from the continual wants of government, they were totally fallen to decay.

Prince Eugene, as great in a political, as he was in a military capacity, with a mind ſuperior to every prejudice, had been long in ſearch of the means of enriching a power, the boundaries of which he had ſo greatly enlarged; when a propoſal was made to him of eſtabliſhing an India Company at Oſtend. The firſt contrivers of this ſcheme had very extenſive views. They pretended that, if this undertaking could be accompliſhed, it would excite a ſpirit of induſtry in all the ſtates under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria; would ſupply that power with a navy, one part of which would be in the Netherlands, and the other at Fiume and Trieſt; would reſcue it from the kind of dependence it was ſtill under for the ſubſidies from England and Holland; and render it formidable to the coaſts of Turkey, and even to the city of Conſtantinople.

The able miniſter, to whom this was addreſſed, was very ſenſible of the value of ſuch overtures; he would not, however, be too precipitate. To accuſtom his own court and all Europe to this new eſtabliſhment, he ordered that two ſhips ſhould be

BOOK V.

ſent out to India in 1717, with only his own paſſports. Their voyage was ſo ſucceſsful, that more were ſent out the following years. Every expedition proved fortunate; and in 1722 the council of Vienna thought it was neceſſary to ſecure the property of the adventurers, who were moſtly Flemings, by the moſt ample charter that ever had been granted. The only ſtipulation made, was, that the Company ſhould pay to government, till the end of the year 1724, three per cent. upon every thing exported or imported, and after that period ſix per cent.

THE rapacity of all governments is inconceivable. Throughout the whole courſe of this hiſtory, we ſhall not find perhaps one ſingle inſtance, in which the tax has not accompanied the undertaking; not one ſovereign, who has not been deſirous of ſecuring to himſelf part of the harveſt before it was gathered in, without perceiving that theſe premature exactions were the ſureſt way of deſtroying it. From whence does this kind of delirium ariſe? Is it from ignorance, or from poverty? Or is there a ſecret ſeparation of the intereſt peculiar to government, from the general intereſt of the ſtate?

HOWEVER this may be, the new Company, which had a capital of ſix millions of florins, or 10,800,000 livres *, appeared with advantage in all the markets of India. They made two ſettlements, that of Coblom between Madras and Sadraſpatnam, on the coaſt of Coromandel; and

* 450,000 l.

that

that of Bankibaſar, on the Ganges. They were even in ſearch of a place where their ſhips might touch for refreſhments, and had turned their views upon Madagaſcar for that purpoſe. The Company were ſo fortunate as to be able to repoſe an intire confidence in their agents, who had ſhew'n a degree of reſolution ſufficient to ſurmount every obſtacle that jealouſy had throw'n in their way; and a ſhare of underſtanding, which had extricated them from all the ſnares that had been laid for them. This confidence was ſtill increaſed by the richneſs of their returns, and the value of their ſhares, which brought in fifteen per cent. It is not to be ſuppoſed they would have been diſappointed, had not their projects been oppoſed by political intereſts. To give a clear idea of the reaſons of this policy, we muſt trace the ſubject from the beginning.

Cauſes of the deſtruction of the Company at Oſtend.

When Iſabella had ſent out ſhips to facilitate the diſcovery of America, and which proceeded as far as the Philippine iſlands, Europe was ſunk in ſuch a ſtate of ignorance, that it was thought proper to prohibit all ſubjects of Spain, who were not natives of Caſtile, from navigating to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. That part of the Low Countries which had not recovered it's liberty, having been ceded, in 1598, to the Infanta Iſabella, on her marriage with the Archduke Albert, the new ſovereigns were required to enter into a ſolemn engagement, not to have any concern in this trade. When theſe provinces were again united to the monarchy in 1638, no alteration was made in this odious ſtipulation. The Flemings, juſtly offended

at

BOOK V.

at being abridged of the right, which all people are by nature intitled to, of trading wherever other nations are not legally poſſeſſed of an excluſive privilege, complained loudly of this impoſition. They were ſeconded by their governor the cardinal Infant, who procured the permiſſion to trade to the Eaſt Indies. The act to ratify this grant was not yet iſſued, when Portugal ſhook off the yoke under which it had ſo long been oppreſſed. The fear of increaſing the diſcontent of the Portugueſe, whom the Spaniards wiſhed rather to ſoothe, prevented the introduction of a new rival to the Portugueſe in Aſia, and protracted the concluſion of this important affair. It was not yet ſettled, when it was reſolved at Munſter, in 1648, that the ſubjects of the king of Spain ſhould never extend their trade in India beyond what it was at that period. This act ought not to have been leſs binding to the emperor than it was to the court of Madrid; ſince he poſſeſſes the Low Countries on the ſame terms, and with the ſame reſtrictions they were ſubject to when under the dominion of Spain.

Such were the arguments made uſe of by the Engliſh and the Dutch, in order to effect the ſuppreſſion of the new Company, the ſucceſs of which gave them great uneaſineſs. Thoſe two allies, who by their maritime forces could have entirely deſtroyed Oſtend and it's trade, were deſirous of avoiding a diſpute with a power which they themſelves had raiſed, and which they thought they ſtood in need of againſt the houſe of Bourbon. So that, though they were determined

mined not to ſuffer the houſe of Auſtria to go to the ſource of their riches, they contented themſelves with making remonſtrances on the violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements. They were ſeconded by France, which was equally intereſted in this matter, and was alſo guarantee of the violated treaty.

The emperor paid no regard to theſe repreſentations. He was induced to perſiſt in his undertaking by the obſtinacy of his own diſpoſition, by the ambitious proſpects that had been ſuggeſted to him, and by the great privileges and indulgences granted by Spain to the merchants reſiding in his dominions. That crown then entertained the hopes of obtaining the heireſs of the houſe of Auſtria for Don Carlos, and thought no conceſſions too great for ſuch an alliance. The union of thoſe two courts, which had always been conſidered as irreconcileable, alarmed all Europe. Every nation thought itſelf in danger. Numberleſs leagues were formed, and many treaties concluded, to endeavour to diſſolve that connection, which was thought to be more dangerous than it really was. All theſe attempts were ineffectual, till the council of Madrid, having no more treaſures to laviſh upon Germany, were convinced that they were purſuing a viſionary intereſt. Auſtria was not ſurprized at the defection of her ally, and ſeemed determined to aſſert her claims, and eſpecially her commercial intereſts. Whether the maritime powers were intimidated by this ſteadineſs, or whether, as was more probably the caſe, they only conſulted the dictates

BOOK V.

of ſound policy, they determined to guarantee the pragmatic ſanction in 1727. The court of Vienna acknowleged this important ſervice, by ſacrificing the Oſtend Company.

THOUGH the public acts take notice only of a ſuſpenſion for ſeven years, the proprietors plainly ſaw that their ruin was determined upon, and that this ſtipulation was only inſerted from reſpect to the imperial dignity. They had too high an opinion of the court of London and the ſtates-general, to ſuppoſe they would have ſecured the indiviſibility of the Auſtrian dominions for a mere temporary advantage. This perſuaſion determined them to think no more of Oſtend, and to diſpoſe of their ſtock ſome other way. They made ſeveral ſucceſſive attempts to form an eſtabliſhment at Hamburgh, at Trieſt, and in Tuſcany; but all their endeavours proved abortive, either from the badneſs of the ſituation, the efforts of powerful nations, or the intrigues of politics. Thoſe were the moſt ſucceſsful who turned their views towards Sweden.

Swediſh Eaſt India Company. Revolutions in the government of that nation.

THE ſtudy of nations is of all others the moſt intereſting. The obſerver delights to be acquainted with the particular ſtroke of character that diſtinguiſhes each people, and to ſeparate it from the numerous general characteriſtics that accompany it. In vain has this diſtinguiſhing mark taken a tincture from events: in vain have natural or moral cauſes altered the ſhades of it. A penetrating eye traces it through all theſe diſguiſes, and perceives it notwithſtanding theſe variations. The more extenſive the field of obſervation

ſervation is, the greater number of ages it preſents to be eſtimated, and of periods to inveſtigate, ſo much the more eaſy is it to determine the problem. Every age, and every period, gives, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, it's own equation; and all theſe cannot be ſolved without diſcovering the truth, which was, as it were, wrapped up in them.

But the deſire of being acquainted with a nation, muſt increaſe in proportion to the part it has borne upon the theatre of the univerſe, and to the influence it has had in thoſe majeſtic or terrible ſcenes that have agitated the globe. The cauſe and effects of this great tumult attract equally the attention of the learned and of the multitude; and it is ſeldom that we are tired of reflecting upon them. Are the Swedes to be ranked among the people who have acquired a celebrated name? This is a point which my readers will decide.

Sweden was little know'n before it's ferocious inhabitants had concurred with the other barbarians of the North in the ſubverſion of the Roman empire. After they had ſpread deſtruction with the violence and rapidity of a torrent, they returned to their former obſcurity. An uncultivated and deſert region, without manners, without policy, and without form of government, could ſcarce fix the attention of Europe, which was then but little enlightened, and which made no efforts to emerge from it's ignorance. If we may believe ſome old chronicles, of doubtful

BOOK V.

authority, plunder and aſſaſſinations were very frequent. Sometimes one ſinge chief ruled over the whole country, which at other times was divided among ſeveral maſters. Theſe rivals, greedy of power, had recourſe to the moſt ſhameful or moſt violent methods to ſupplant each other; and revolutions were perpetually taking place. It was between fathers and children that theſe wars were more particularly inveterate. Chriſtianity, which was adopted in this country at the end of the eighth, or the beginning of the ninth century, did not produce the leaſt alteration in the condition of theſe people. The ſame animoſity, the ſame conteſts, and the ſame calamities were ſtill experienced. This dreadful ſtate had been but very little improved, when ſome unfortunate events placed Sweden under the dominion of the Danes, or in a kind of alliance which partook of ſlavery. This ſhameful bondage was diſſolved by Guſtavus Vaſa, who, in 1521, was choſen adminiſtrator of the ſtate, and two years after, it's monarch.

The empire was then in a ſtate of anarchy. The prieſts exerciſed the principal authority; and the treaſury received annually no more than twenty-four thouſand marks of ſilver, although the public expences amounted to ſixty thouſand. The new king ſhewed himſelf worthy of the ſituation to which he was raiſed, by concentrating in his hands, powers that were diffuſely ſcattered, by rendering the crown hereditary in his family, by depriving the clergy of part of their uſurpations,

tions, by ſubſtituting Lutheraniſm to the eſtabliſhed form of worſhip, and by prudently ſettling the nature and appropriation of the taxes: but this ſovereign, having carried his ſyſtem of reformation too far, precipitated his ſubjects into misfortunes which might, and ought to have been foreſeen.

SWEDEN, which, from the nature of it's productions, it's wants, and the extent of it's coaſts, ſeemed deſtined for navigation, had nevertheleſs neglected it, ſince it's inhabitants had been diſguſted of piracy. The people of Lubeck traded with them for their proviſions; and brought them ſalt, ſtuffs, and all the foreign merchandize they conſumed. No ſhips were ſeen in their roads; nor were there any magazines in their towns, which did not belong to that republic.

THE haughty ſoul of Guſtavus could not brook this dependence. He was determined to break the bands that cramped the induſtry of his ſubjects; but he was too precipitate in his meaſures. He ſhut his harbours againſt the people of Lubeck, before he had built any ſhips, and before he had got any merchants. From this period there was ſcarce any further intercourſe between his ſubjects and other nations. The whole kingdom fell into a ſtate of languor, of which it would be difficult to form any adequate idea. Some Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, which appeared there at diſtant intervals, had but imperfectly remedied this evil, when Guſtavus Adolphus aſcended the throne.

BOOK V.

He ſignalized the firſt years of his reign by ſeveral uſeful alterations. Agriculture was encouraged; the mines were worked with greater ſkill; companies were formed to trade to Perſia and the Weſt Indies; the foundations of a new colony were laid on the coaſt of North America. The Swediſh flag was diſplayed in all the European latitudes.

This new ſpirit was of ſhort duration. The ſucceſs of the great Guſtavus in war, turned entirely the genius of the nation to arms. All men were ſtimulated with the deſire of rendering their names illuſtrious, by following the traces of this hero, and of his diſciples. The hope of plunder was united to the love of glory. Every man was eager to conquer the enemy, and to enrich himſelf with their ſpoils. The national education was entirely military, and the houſes ſeemed to be converted into camps. The temples, the caſtles, and even the ſimpleſt dwelling places were adorned with numberleſs trophies. One generation of ſoldiers was ſucceeded by another of a ſimilar, or ſtill more daring nature. This enthuſiaſm had ſpread itſelf among the lower ranks of people, as among the higheſt. Labours of a ſuperior, or of a meaner kind were all equally deſpiſed; and a Swede thought himſelf born only to conquer, and to regulate the deſtinies of empires. This martial fury had been carried beyond all bounds under Charles XII. but it was extinguiſhed after the tragical death of that extraordinary man.

The

THE Swedes then became quite another people. The exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom; the loſs of former conqueſts; the elevation of Ruſſia; every circumſtance, in a word, tended to diſguſt the moſt confident of a ſyſtem, which it was no longer poſſible to follow with any hopes of ſucceſs, or even without the riſque of completing the ruin of an edifice already ſhaken by repeated and violent ſhocks. Peace was the wiſh both of thoſe who had grow'n old in the ſervice of the field, and of thoſe whoſe age had not yet called them to bear arms. The cry of the whole nation was for it's liberty, which had been ſucceſſively attacked with precaution, deſtroyed by Charles XI. and even the ſhadow of which had been taken away by the unfortunate monarch, who had juſt deſcended into the grave without iſſue. All the orders of the ſtate were aſſembled; and without aboliſhing the regal title, they reſtored the republican form of government, and even gave it a greater degree of extenſion than it had had before.

THIS great revolution was not preceded by any commotion, nor followed by any diſturbance. All the changes were made upon mature deliberation. The firſt attention was paid to the moſt neceſſary profeſſions, which till then had been unnoticed, or deſpiſed. The arts of convenience, or elegance, were ſoon introduced. The young nobility travelled into every part of Europe where they might gain any kind of knowlege. Thoſe citizens, who had been for a long time abſent from their country while it remained in a ſtate of ruin and devaſtation, returned and brought

BOOK V.

back with them the various talents they had acquired. Order, political œconomy, and the ſeveral branches of government, became ſubjects of inquiry. Whatever concerned the republic was maturely diſcuſſed in the general aſſemblies, and freely approved or cenſured in the public writings. Some uſeful publications upon the abſtruſe ſciences appeared, which were worthy of the notice of the moſt enlightened nations. A language, hitherto barbarous, was at length fixed to ſome gramatical rules, and acquired, in proceſs of time, a degree of preciſion and elegance. The manners and morals of the people underwent ſtill more neceſſary and more fortunate alterations. Politeneſs, affability, and a ſpirit of communication ſucceeded to that ſternneſs of temper, and that roughneſs of character, which a continual ſtate of warfare had left behind it. Improvements of every kind were adopted, from whatever part of the globe they came. Foreigners, who introduced any new diſcoveries, or any branch of uſeful knowlege, met with encouragement; and it was at this favourable juncture that the agents of the Oſtend Company made their appearance.

The Swedes have a ſhare in the India trade. Manner in which they conduct it.

A RICH merchant of Stockholm, named Henry Koning, approved of their ſchemes, and procured the approbation of the diet in 1731. An India Company was eſtabliſhed, with an excluſive privilege of trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope. The charter was only for fifteen years. It was thought that this would be the beſt expedient, either to afford an early opportunity of rectifying

any

any imperfections incident to new undertakings, or to relieve the anxiety of many citizens who warmly oppoſed an enterprize, which they thought repugnant to the nature of the climate and the conſtitution. In order, as much as poſſible, to unite the advantages of a free trade with thoſe of a privileged aſſociation, it was agreed that the ſtock ſhould not be fixed, and that each proprietor ſhould be at liberty to withdraw his own at the end of every voyage. As moſt of the adventurers were foreigners, chiefly Flemings, it was thought equitable to ſecure a profit to the nation, by obliging them to pay the government fifteen hundred ſilver dollars, or three thouſand three hundred and ninety livres* upon the cargo of every ſhip.

This tax did not prevent the Company from fitting out five-and-twenty ſhips, during the time that their charter laſted. Three of theſe were ſent to Bengal, and two-and-twenty to China. One of theſe ſhips was wrecked with it's whole cargo, and three of them periſhed without any lading. Notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes, the proprietors, beſide their capital, received eight hundred ſeventeen and a half per cent. which, one year with another, amounted to fifty-four and a half per cent. a profit infinitely great, though each of the proprietors was obliged to make and to pay his own inſurances out of it.

In 1746 the Company obtained a new charter for twenty years. They diſpatched ſucceſſively

* 1411. 5s.

three

BOOK V.

three veſſels to Surat, and thirty-three to Canton, one of which was wrecked with all it's lading, near the place of it's deſtination. The profits of the proprietors aroſe to eight hundred ſeventy-one and one quarter per cent. or forty-three per cent. every year. A remarkable event diſtinguiſhed this charter from the firſt. From the year 1753, the proprietors gave up the liberty they had always enjoyed, of withdrawing their capital at pleaſure, and reſolved to form themſelves into a permanent body. The ſtate induced them to conſent to this new arrangement, by taking no more than a duty of twenty per cent. upon all the mercantile articles that ſhould be conſumed in the kingdom, inſtead of ſeventy-five thouſand livres * which it had received for ſeven years paſt upon every voyage. This ſacrifice had been made with a deſign to enable the Swediſh Company to ſuſtain the competition of that which had juſt been eſtabliſhed at Embden: but the public neceſſities occaſioned this indulgence to be retracted in 1765. Perfidy was carried ſo far, that even all the arrears were required to be paid.

In 1766, the monopoly was renewed for twenty years more. The Company lent the government 1,250,000 livres † without intereſt, and twice that ſum upon an intereſt of ſix per cent. The firſt of theſe loans was to be ſucceſſively paid off by retaining the 93,750 livres ‡, which the Company had engaged to give for every ſhip they fitted out; and the ſecond was to be returned

* 3,125 l. † 52,083 l. 6 s. 8 d. ‡ 3,906 l. 15 s.

at

at four ſtipulated periods. Before the firſt of January 1778, one-and-twenty veſſels had been ſent off, all for China; four of which were ſtill expected. The ſeventeen that had returned, had brought back with them twenty-two millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds weight of tea, and ſome other articles of much leſs importance. It cannot be preciſely aſcertained what profits have accrued from theſe expeditions; but it may be preſumed that they were conſiderable, ſince the ſhares have gained as far as two-and-forty per cent. It is however generally know'n, that the dividend was twelve per cent. in 1770, and that it has been ſix per cent. all the other years, and that the Company is charged with the inſurances ſince 1753.

The Company have fixed the ſeat of their affairs at Gottenburg, the poſition of which afforded conveniences for the fitting out of ſhips, and for the ſale of goods, which were not to be met with in the other ports of the kingdom. A preference ſo uſeful has conſiderably increaſed activity in it's road, and the cultivation of it's territory.

At the origin of the Company, their ſtock varied from one voyage to another. It was ſaid to be rated at ſix millions * in 1753, and at five † only at the laſt convention. The beſt informed perſons know nothing upon this important point except from mere conjecture; for the matter was never laid before the public. As the Swedes

* 250,000l. † 208,333 l. 6s. 8 d.

had

BOOK V.

had at firſt much leſs concern in this ſtock than they have had ſince, the government have thought proper to envelope it in myſtery. In order to effect this, it was enacted, that any director who ſhould divulge the names of the proprietors, or the ſums they had ſubſcribed, ſhould be ſuſpended, or even depoſed, and ſhould forfeit for ever all the money he had ventured in this undertaking. This ſpirit of myſtery, inconceivable in a free country, continued five-and-thirty years. Twelve of the proprietors were indeed to examine the accounts of the directors every four years: but theſe examiners were appointed by the direction. Since the year 1767, the proprietors themſelves are the perſons who chooſe theſe commiſſaries, and who receive their reports at a general meeting. This new arrangement will certainly have diminiſhed corruption. Secrecy in politics, is like lying; it may preſerve a ſtate for the moment, but muſt certainly ruin it in the end. Both are only ſerviceable to evil minded perſons.

The produce of the ſales has not always been equal. It has been more or leſs conſiderable, according to the number and ſize of the ſhips employed in the trade; and according to the dearneſs of the articles at the place of their manufacture, or their ſcarcity in Europe. We may however affirm, that it has ſcarce ever been lower than two millions of livres *, and has never riſen higher than five millions †. Tea has always yielded four-fifths of this produce.

* 83,333l. 6s. 8d. † 208,333l. 6s. 8d.

It

It is with piaſtres, bought at Cadiz, that theſe affairs have been tranſacted. The little that has been brought from other parts does not deſerve to be mentioned.

The conſumption in Sweden was at firſt rather more conſiderable than it has been ſince, becauſe originally there was no duty upon the Aſiatic productions. Moſt of them have been ſince ſubjected to a tax of twenty, or five-and-twenty per cent.; ſome of them even, ſuch as the ſilks, have been prohibited at times. Theſe taxes have reduced the annual conſumption of the kingdom to the value of three hundred thouſand livres *. All the reſt is exported on paying to the ſtate one-eighth per cent. on the produce of the ſale. Sweden, conſidering the little ſpecie it has, and the mediocrity of it's intrinſic reſources, cannot admit of a higher degree of luxury; of which we ſhall ſoon be convinced.

Preſent ſtate of Sweden.

Sweden, including the part of Finland and Lapland, under it's dominion, is of prodigious extent. It's coaſts, which are in general difficult of acceſs, are embarraſſed with an infinite number of rocks, and many ſmall iſlands, where ſome men, almoſt ſavages, live by fiſhing. The interior part of the country is very mountainous. Some plains, however, are to be found, the ſoil of which, though ſandy, marſhy, and full of ferruginous matter, is not barren, eſpecially in the moſt ſouthern provinces. To the north of the empire, want has taught the people, that they

* 12,500 l.

could

BOOK V.

could live upon bread made of the bark of the birch-tree, with a few roots and a little rye. In order to procure a nouriſhment more wholeſome and more agreeable, they have endeavoured to ſow ſome of the high grounds, after having felled and burnt the trees that were upon them. The moſt prudent among them have given up this practice, after having obſerved, that trees and graſs no longer grew upon a ſtoney and meagre ſoil, exhauſted by two or three plentiful harveſts. Very large ſpaces of territory are covered with lakes of greater or leſs extent: Theſe uſeleſs collections of water have been ſkilfully turned to advantage, in eſtabliſhing, with the help of ſeveral rivers, canals, and ſluices, an uninterrupted navigation from Stockholm to Gottenburg.

This ſketch of the natural ſtate of Sweden, would induce us to ſuppoſe that this country was never much peopled, though it has ſometimes been called the *manufactory of human kind.* Probably the numerous bands that came from thence, and which, under the ſo-much-dreaded name of Goths and Vandals, ravaged and ſubdued ſo many regions of Europe, were only ſwarms of Scythians and Sarmatians, who came thither in a conſtant ſucceſſion by the north of Aſia. Yet it would be, perhaps, a miſtake to ſuppoſe, that this vaſt country was always as thinly peopled as it is now. According to all probability, three hundred years ago, this country had more inhabitants than it has at preſent, though at that time they profeſſed the catholic religion, which enjoins the monaſtic life and the celibacy of the clergy.

* The

The account taken in 1751 did not compute the number of ſouls at more than two millions, two hundred and twenty-nine thouſand, ſix hundred and ſixty-one. In 1769 this number was increaſed by three hundred and forty-three thouſand. It is generally ſuppoſed, that ſince this period, the population, only the thirteenth part of which dwells in the towns, has not increaſed, but has rather diminiſhed; and this calamity is to be attributed to miſery, and to the prevalence of epidemic diſeaſes.

The number of inhabitants would be greater in Sweden if it were not continually deſerted by the natives, who frequently never return. There are men in all nations, who, either from motives of curioſity, or from a natural reſtleſſneſs, and without any determinate object, are fond of going from one country to another; but this is only the malady of a few individuals, and cannot be conſidered as the general cauſe of a conſtant emigration. There is a natural propenſity in all men to love their own country, which is rather to be accounted for from moral, than from natural principles. An inherent fondneſs for ſociety, the ties of blood and of friendſhip, an acquaintance with the climate and language, that partiality we are ſo apt to contract for the place, the manners, and the way of life we are accuſtomed to; all theſe are, to a rational being, ſo many motives of attachment to the land in which he was born and educated. They muſt be powerful inducements that can determine him to break all theſe ties at once, and to prefer another country, where

BOOK V.

where all will appear extraordinary and new to him. In Sweden, where the whole power reſides in the ſtates compoſed of the ſeveral orders of the kingdom, even that of the peaſants, every one ſhould naturally be more attached to his country; yet emigrations are very frequent, and there is no reaſon to be ſurprized at it.

The lands in cultivation were formerly divided into fourſcore thouſand and fifty-two hemmans, or farms, which it was not permitted to parcel out. By an error ſtill more palpable, the laws had determined the number of perſons that might live upon each of theſe farms. When this number was completed, the father of a family was obliged himſelf to expell from his houſe his children born after that period, however he might be in want of them to increaſe the maſs of his productions. It had been expected that this regulation would occaſion the clearing of the uncultivated lands, and produce new hemmans. But it ſhould have been foreſeen, that men, kept in ſuch a ſtate of oppreſſion, would neither have the will nor the means of attending to new eſtabliſhments; and that moſt of them would go into foreign countries, in ſearch of that tranquillity of which their own ſo unjuſtly deprived them. The eyes of the government were not opened 'till the year 1748. At this period it was at length underſtood, that the public required, that the labourers ſhould have no greater extent of ſoil than they could conveniently work; and the diet allowed them to divide their inheritance into as many portions as they ſhould think proper. This new arrange-

arrangement of things has already leſſened the emigrations, and muſt, in proceſs of time, bring on the improvement of agriculture.

This was, it is ſaid, in a tolerably flouriſhing ſtate when Guſtavus Vaſa aſcended the throne. This opinion is evidently an improbable one, ſince before that period the empire had only emerged from the horrors of anarchy, to paſs under the yoke of foreign tyranny. It is at leaſt a fact, that ſince that time, this firſt of the arts has been always in a languid ſtate. The nation has continually been reduced to the neceſſity of drawing a great part of it's ſubſiſtence from it's neighbours, and ſometimes to the amount of ſix or ſeven millions of livres *. Many cauſes have contributed to this misfortune. Among the moſt conſiderable may be reckoned the diſtribution of a ſmall number of men over too great a ſpace. The diſtance at which they were from one another, obliged each of them ſeparately to provide for almoſt all his own wants, and has prevented them all from ſeriouſly devoting themſelves to any profeſſion, and even to the cultivation of the lands.

The inſufficiency of the harveſts threw the ſtate into continual embarraſſments. The meaſures adopted at diſtant intervals to remove this evil, have not produced the deſired effect. At length, in 1772, the government had the firmneſs to ſtrike at the principal cauſe of it, by prohibiting the diſtilling of the corn. Unfortunately, the

* From 250,000l. to 291,666l. 13s. 4d.

laws were not of ſufficient force to counteract the paſſion theſe people had for this kind of ſpirit; and the ſtate was obliged to relax the ſeverity of them. It's condeſcenſion was not indeed carried ſo far, as to authorize the citizens to prepare this liquor themſelves, as they were uſed to do: but it engaged to furniſh them with about three hundred thouſand tons of grain for this purpoſe, inſtead of a million of tons that were before employed in it.

SINCE this epocha, Sweden has draw'n much leſs corn from foreign markets. Some of her writers on agriculture have even pretended, that ſhe might do without this aſſiſtance, if the nation were to forſake it's erroneous methods of proceeding in theſe matters. This opinion will not meet with many partiſans. Whether it be from the defect of the ſoil, of climate, or of induſtry, it is certain, that the ſame number of men working the ſame number of days, and with the ſame means, do not bring forth in this region more than a third part of the productions obtained in more fortunate countries.

THESE diſadvantages of agriculture muſt be compenſated by the mines, moſt of which belonged formerly to the prieſts. From the hands of the clergy, they paſſed, in 1480, into thoſe of the government. By a ſtill more fortunate revolution they have ſince become the property of individuals.

THERE is only the gold mine, diſcovered in 1738, that has remained with the ſtate. As it yields only ſeven or eight hundred ducats * per

* Between three and four hundred pounds on an average.

annum;

annum; and that this ſum is inſufficient to defray the expences of working it, no native, or foreigner has yet offered to take it upon himſelf.

THE ſilver mine of Sala has been know'n ſince the eleventh century. During the courſe of the fourteenth, it yielded twenty-four thouſand marks; and in the fifteenth, no more than twenty-one thouſand two hundred and eighty. It fell more and more, 'till the beginning of the century in which we now live. At preſent it produces from ſeventeen to eighteen hundred marks every year. This is fifteen or ſixteen times more than all the other mines taken together.

ALUM, ſulphur, cobalt, and vitriol are more abundant. Theſe are nothing, however, or ſcarcely any thing in compariſon of the mines of copper, and eſpecially of iron. From the year 1754 to 1768, there were exported annually nine hundred and ninety-five thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven quintals of this laſt metal. It then became to be leſs in vogue, becauſe Ruſſia brought to market iron of the ſame quality twenty per cent. cheaper. The Swedes were obliged to lower their price, and they muſt lower it ſtill more, in order not to loſe entirely the moſt important branch of their trade. The moſt intelligent among them have taken the reſolution of working their iron themſelves, and of converting it into ſteel, wire, nails, cannon, anchors, and other materials of primary neceſſity to other nations; and the government has prudently encouraged this induſtry by gratifications. Theſe favours have met with general approbation; while opi-

BOOK V.

nions have been divided with reſpect to thoſe granted to other manufactures.

THERE was not, properly ſpeaking, any manufacture in the kingdom at the memorable æra which reſtored it to it's liberty. It was ſoon divided by two parties; one who diſplayed an inordinate paſſion for all ſorts of manufactures, and laviſhed the moſt exceſſive encouragements upon them all, without diſtinguiſhing thoſe which might be uſeful, from thoſe which might be prejudicial to the ſtate. Great confuſion aroſe, from which the nation emerged only to fall into an exceſs equally fatal. The oppoſite party having prevailed, ſhewed as much averſion for the manufactures of neceſſity, as for thoſe that were merely works of luxury, and deprived them both indiſcriminately of all the privileges and favours that had been heaped upon them. Notwithſtanding the prodigalities of the treaſury, they had as yet acquired no conſiſtence; and the ſuppreſſion of theſe enormous grants occaſioned their total decay. The foreign artiſts, and even thoſe of the country, diſappeared. The flattering proſpect of promoting great induſtry vaniſhed at once; and the nation found itſelf nearly in the ſame ſtate as it was in before the year 1720.

THE fiſheries have not ſhared the ſame fate as the arts. The only one that deſerves our notice, in a political point of view, is the herring fiſhery. It cannot be traced farther back than 1740. Before that period, the herrings did not frequent the coaſts of Sweden. They then came in ſhoals to the coaſt of Gottenburgh, which they have never

ſince

ſince forſaken. The nation conſumes annually forty thouſand barrels of this fiſh; and there are one hundred and ſixty thouſand barrels exported; which, at the rate of thirteen livres fifteen ſols * each, brings in a revenue of 2,200,000 livres † to the ſtate.

THE Swediſh nation was not yet poſſeſſed of this advantage, when the government reſolved that foreign navigators ſhould not be allowed to introduce into the ports of Sweden any other than the commodities of their own country; and that they ſhould not even be permitted to convey theſe from one harbour of the kingdom to another. That famous edict, know'n by the name of *placard des productions*, reſtored navigation, which had long ſince been annihilated by the calamities of war. A flag, which had been hitherto unknow'n, was now diſplayed on all the ſeas. The ſeamen ſoon acquired ſkill and experience. Some able politicians were even of opinion that their progreſs was growing too conſiderable for a depopulated country. They thought it would be more adviſeable to confine themſelves to the exportation of their own produce, and the importation of ſuch foreign commodities as they wanted, and totally to lay aſide the mere freighting trade. This ſyſtem was warmly oppoſed. Some able men were of opinion that, far from reſtraining this branch of induſtry, it ought to be encouraged, by aboliſhing every regulation that might tend to obſtruct it. The excluſive right

* About 11s. 5½d. † 91,666l. 13s. 4d.

BOOK V.

of paſſing the Sound was formerly appropriated to a few towns, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Staple*. All the parts ſituated to the north of Stockholm and Abo, were obliged to ſend their commodities to one of theſe ſtaples, and there to take in thoſe of the Baltic, which they could have procured cheaper at firſt hand. Theſe odious diſtinctions, contrived in barbarous times, and tending to favour the monopoly of merchants, ſtill ſubſiſt to this day. The wiſeſt ſpeculators in political matters, wiſh to ſee them aboliſhed, that a more general competition may produce greater induſtry.

If we were to judge of the trade of Sweden by the number of ſhips it employs, we ſhould think it very important. But when we conſider, that this country ſells nothing but tar, pitch, potaſh, planks, fiſh, and coarſe metals, we ſhall not be ſurprized to find, that it's annual exports do not exceed 15,000,000 livres *. The returns would ſtill be leſs by one-fourth, if we were to be regulated by the accounts of the cuſtoms. But it is a know'n fact, that although they are only defrauded of five per cent. upon the exports, yet they are cheated of five-and-twenty per cent. on the imports. Admitting this, there would be an almoſt complete balance between what was ſold and what was bought; and the kingdom would neither gain nor loſe by it's outward connections. Perſons extremely well verſed in theſe matters, pretend even that the balance is to the diſad-

* 625,000.

vantage

vantage of the ſtate, and that it has only filled up the deficiency which this circumſtance muſt have occaſioned in it's ſpecie, by the help of the ſubſidies that have been granted by foreign powers. It behoves the nation to redouble all it's efforts to extricate itſelf from ſo diſagreeable a ſituation. Let us examine whether the troops are upon a better footing.

BEFORE the reign of Guſtavus Vaſa, every Swede was a ſoldier. Upon an emergency of the ſtate, the huſbandman left his plough, and took up his bow. The whole nation was inured to war by civil commotions, which were unfortunately continual. Government had then but five hundred men in pay; but in 1542, this ſmall corps was increaſed to ſix thouſand. In order to be diſencumbered from the maintenance of theſe forces, it was ſuggeſted, that a portion of the domains of the crown ſhould be aſſigned to them. This plan, oppoſed for a long time by private intereſts, was at length carried into execution. Charles XI. reſumed the royal lands, which his predeceſſors, and eſpecially queen Chriſtina, had laviſhed upon their favourites, and ſettled the moſt valuable part of his army upon them.

THIS army conſiſts at preſent of a body of twelve thouſand and twenty-eight men, always aſſembled, formed indiſcriminately of natives and foreigners, having a regular pay, and ſerving to garriſon all the fortreſſes of the kingdom. There is another corps ſtill more diſtinguiſhed, and conſidered by the people as the bulwark of the empire; it is that which is know'n by the title of

national troops. It conſiſts of thirty-four thouſand two hundred and ſixty-ſix men, who are aſſembled only one-and-twenty days in every year. They have no pay: but they have received from government, under the name of *Boſtel*, poſſeſſions ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence. From the common ſoldier to the general, every man has a dwelling of his own, and lands which he muſt cultivate. The conveniences of the lodging, and the extent and value of the territory, are proportioned to the rank every man holds in this corps.

This inſtitution has received the encomiums of all Europe. Thoſe who have ſeen the effects of it upon the ſpot, have been leſs warm in their approbation of it. They have obſerved, that theſe lands, which were paſſing with rapidity from one poſſeſſor to another, were always in the greateſt diſorder; that the character of the huſbandman was diametrically oppoſite to that of the military man; that the man who cultivated the land attached himſelf to it, from the care he beſtowed upon it, and never quitted it without regret; while the ſoldier, led by his profeſſion from one province of the kingdom to another; or from one country to a diſtant region, ought always to hold himſelf in readineſs to march cheerfully at the firſt ſtroke of the drum, or the firſt ſound of the trumpet: that the labours of the field grow languid, when they are not ſeconded by a numerous family; that it was conſequently the duty of the farmer to marry; while the dwelling under tents, and in camps, and the hazards of

of war, required an unmarried man, whoſe courage was not to be enervated by any tender connection; who might live every where without any local predilection, and might expoſe his life every inſtant without regret: that the perfection of military diſcipline was loſt without conſtant exerciſe, while the cultivation of the land, admitting of no reſt, and ſuffering no intermiſſion, except in that rigorous ſeaſon, which ſeparated the armies, and hardened the ſoil, the ſame hands would be unfit to wield the ſword, and to direct the plough: that the two profeſſions required each of them a great degree of experience, and that the uniting of them in the ſame perſon, was a ſure method of having only indifferent farmers, and bad ſoldiers: that theſe lands, thus diſtributed, muſt either become hereditary, or return to the ſtate; if they were made hereditary, there would ſoon be none left for other proprietors; and if they returned to the ſtate, this was the means of reducing to beggary, from one moment to another, a multiplicity of children of both ſexes, and of peopling the kingdom, at the end of five or ſix campaigns, with unfortunate orphans: in a word, that the cuſtom of the *Boſtel* appeared to them ſo pernicious, that they did not heſitate to rank it among the number of cauſes that rendered a ſcarcity of corn ſo frequent in Sweden.

The ſituation of this country has determined it to create two very different naval corps: one conſiſting of a great number of gallies, and a few flat-bottomed boats, for the defence of it's coaſts,

BOOK V.

coaſts, full of ſhoals; the other compoſed of four-and-twenty ſhips of the line, and three-and-twenty frigates, for more diſtant latitudes. In 1772 they were both of them in a moſt ruinous condition. Since that period, theſe veſſels, moſt of which are made of deal, becauſe there is very little oak in the country, and which were almoſt falling to pieces with age, have been repaired. Sweden may poſſibly be in abſolute want of all her gallies; but ſhe muſt infallibly determine to leſſen the number of her ſhips. Her powers will never allow her to arm even half of them.

The public revenue of this kingdom does not exceed ſixteen or ſeventeen millions of livres *. It is collected by a land-tax, the returns of the cuſtoms, by duties upon copper, iron, and ſtamped paper, by a poll-tax, and a free gift; and by ſome other articles leſs conſiderable. This is very little for the wants of government; and yet it's debts muſt be paid from this trifling ſum.

These debts amounted to ſeven millions five hundred thouſand livres †, when Charles XI. came to the crown. That prince, who was an œconomiſt in a manner becoming a ſovereign, paid them off. He did more than this, for he recovered ſeveral of the domains conquered in Germany, and which had been mortgaged to powerful neighbours. He likewiſe redeemed the crown jewels, upon which conſiderable ſums had

* From 666,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. to 708,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

† 312,500 l.

been

been borrowed in Holland. He fortified the frontier towns, ſuccoured his allies, and often fitted out ſquadrons to maintain his ſuperiority on the Baltic. The events ſubſequent to his death, once more plunged the nation into it's former confuſion. This has ſince been always increaſing, notwithſtanding the ſubſidies beſtowed by France, and other leſs conſiderable ſuccours. In 1772, the ſtate owed 90,450,000 livres †; which, at an intereſt of four and a half per cent. brought to the natives, or foreigners, 4,070,250 livres ‡. At this period, there were not above two millions of livres § circulating in the kingdom. Both public and private affairs were tranſacted with the bills of a bank belonging to the ſtate, and ſecured by the three firſt orders of the republic. This eſtabliſhment has had it's cenſors and it's panegyriſts; and it is a problem not yet reſolved, whether it has been uſeful or detrimental to the nation.

Poverty is not, however, the greateſt evil under which Sweden laboured; ſhe was threatened with calamities of a more dangerous nature. The ſpirit of diſcord excited a general ferment. Hatred and revenge were the principal cauſes of events. Every man conſidered the ſtate as the prey of his ambition or his avarice. It was no longer for the public ſervice that places had been created: it was for the private emolument of thoſe who filled them. Virtue and talents were rather an obſtacle to fortune, than a means of elevation.

† 3,768,750l. ‡ 169,593l. 15s. § 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

The

BOOK V.

The national aſſemblies diſplayed nothing but acts of diſgrace or violence. Crimes were unpuniſhed, and were openly committed. The court, the ſenate, and all the orders of the republic, were filled with general diſtruſt. All men were bent upon each other's deſtruction, with inveterate fury. When quick and ready means were wanting, they were ſought for at a diſtance; and men were not aſhamed to conſpire with foreign powers againſt their own country.

These evils had their ſource in the nature of the conſtitution ſettled in 1720. To a diſguſtful deſpotiſm, had been ſubſtituted a ſyſtem of liberty ill arranged. The powers deſtined to balance and reſtrain each other, were neither clearly explained, nor prudently diſtributed. Accordingly, they began to claſh with each other ſix years after they had been eſtabliſhed. Nothing could poſſibly prevent this. It was a continual ſtruggle between the head of the ſtate, who was inceſſantly endeavouring to acquire influence by the making of laws, and the jealouſy of the nation to preſerve the executive power of them. The different orders of the repuplic diſputed with the ſame inveteracy, concerning the extent of their reſpective privileges.

These conteſts, in which one party or the other alternately triumphed or were defeated, occaſioned great inſtability in the public reſolutions. What had been decreed in one diet, was cancelled in another, to be re-eſtabliſhed anew, and to be again aboliſhed. In this tumult of the paſſions, the general good was either forgotten, miſunderſtood,

miſunderſtood, or betrayed. The happineſs of the citizens was more and more diſturbed; and all the branches of adminiſtration bore the ſtamp of ignorance, ſelf-intereſt, or anarchy. Theſe numerous evils were wrought up to their higheſt pitch, by a ſyſtem of corruption, the moſt ignominious, perhaps, that any ſet of men was ever infected with.

Two factions, into which all the others were reſolved, divided the ſtate. That of the *Hats* ſeemed intent upon reſtoring to Sweden it's former ſtrength, by recovering thoſe rich poſſeſſions which had been ſevered from it by the misfortunes of war. This faction had devoted itſelf to France, which might have ſome intereſt in encouraging it's ambitious views. The faction of the *Caps* was a declared advocate for tranquillity. It's moderation had rendered it agreeable to Ruſſia, which was deſirous of meeting with no obſtacles to her enterprizes. Theſe two courts, eſpecially that of Verſailles, had opened their treaſures to theſe baſe factions. The leaders of them appropriated to themſelves the greateſt part of theſe idle profuſions; and purchaſed votes with the reſt. Theſe were always at a low price; but at the ſame time, they were ſcarce ever to be relied upon. Nothing was more common than for a member of the diet to ſell his vote a ſecond time. It was not even an uncommon circumſtance, that he ſhould make himſelf be paid by both parties at the ſame time.

The unhappy ſituation of a ſtate, apparently free, kept up that ſlaviſh diſpoſition, which de-

BOOK V.

grades moſt of the European nations; they gloried in their chains, when they beheld the ſufferings of a people who had ſhaken off their's. No one would be convinced that the Swedes had gone from one extreme to another; that, to avoid the miſchief of arbitrary power, they had fallen into the confuſions of anarchy. The laws had not provided means to reconcile the private rights of individuals with thoſe of ſociety, and the prerogatives it ought to enjoy for the common ſafety of it's members.

In this fatal criſis, it was expedient for the Swedes to intruſt the phantom of a king, of their own creation, with a power ſufficient to inquire into the abuſes of the ſtate, and find out proper remedies for it. This is the greateſt act of ſovereignty a people can exerciſe; and it is not loſing their liberty, to commit it to the cuſtody of a guardian in whom they can confide, while they watch over the uſe he makes of the power delegated to him.

Such a reſolution would have raiſed the Swedes to the greateſt glory and happineſs, and have excited a general opinion of their underſtanding and wiſdom; whereas, by declining ſo neceſſary a meaſure, they have compelled the ſovereign to ſeize upon the ſupreme authority. He now reigns upon his own terms; and his ſubjects have no other right left, but ſuch as his moderation would not ſuffer him to deprive them of.

This event is too recent to allow us to entertain our readers with an account of it. Time alone can reveal what an hiſtorian ought to know,

know, in order to ſpeak of it with accuracy. How ſhall we diſcriminate thoſe who have ſeconded the views of the ſovereign from generous motives, from thoſe who have acceded to them from abject principles? He himſelf undoubtedly knows them: but the heart of kings is an impenetrable ſanctuary, out of which the marks of eſteem or contempt ſeldom ſhew themſelves during their life time; and the key of which is but too frequently loſt at their death. Beſides, are not kings ſubject, as we are, to the illuſions of the paſſions, and do they know better how to diſtribute cenſure or praiſe? The opinions of their ſubjects are equally ſuſpicious. Among the confuſed and contradictory voices that are hear'd at the ſame time, who ſhall diſtinguiſh the cry of truth from the deep and ſecret murmur of calumny, or the myſterious reſerve of the former, from the clamour of the latter? We muſt wait till intereſt and flattery have ceaſed to explain themſelves, and till ſilence is no longer impoſed upon us from terror. Then we may be allowed to take up the pen, without incurring the ſuſpicion of meanly paying our court to the man in power, or of inſolently bidding defiance to his authority. Though we ſhould be ſilent, poſterity will ſpeak. The monarch is ſenſible of this truth. Happy, if he can enjoy beforehand it's approbation! But woe to him, and woe to his people, if he ſhould diſdain this tribunal!

Let us now inquire into the connections, formed in India by the king of Pruſſia.

BOOK V.

The king of Prussia forms an East India Company at Embden. Character of that Prince. Fate of his establishment.

This prince, in his younger years, wisely preferred the advantage of treasuring up knowlege, to the usual pleasures of his age, and the luxurious idleness of courts. An intercourse with the greatest men of his time, joined to the spirit of observation, insensibly ripened his genius, which was naturally active and eager for improvement. Neither flattery nor opposition could ever divert him from the deep reflections he was engaged in. He formed the plan of his future conduct and reign in the early part of his life. It was foretold, on his accession to the crown, that his ministers would be no more than his secretaries; the managers of his finances no more than his clerks; and his generals no more than his aids de camp. Some fortunate circumstances afforded him an opportunity of displaying to the whole world the talents he had acquired in retirement. With a quickness peculiar to himself, Frederic, instantly discovering the plan it was his interest to pursue, attacked a power by which his ancestors had been kept in slavery. He obtained the victory in five engagements against that power, deprived it of it's best provinces, and concluded a peace with the same wisdom that he had begun the war.

Though his wars were at an end, yet he did not remain inactive. He aspired to gain the admiration of those very people whom he had struck with terror. He collected all the arts about him, to give an additional lustre to his name. He reformed the abuses in the courts of judicature,

judicature, and dictated himself the wisest laws. A plain and invariable order was established in every part of government. As he was convinced that the authority of a sovereign is a common benefit to all his subjects, a protection which all should equally partake of, he gave to every man the liberty of approaching his person, and of writing to him. Every instant of his life was devoted to the welfare of his people; his very amusements were made useful to them. His writings on history, morality, and politics, abounded with practical truths. Even his poetry was full of profound and instructive ideas. He was considering of the means of enriching his dominions, when some fortunate event put him in possession of East Friesland in the year 1744.

Embden, the capital of this little province, was reckoned, two centuries ago, one of the best ports in Europe. The English, compelled to abandon Antwerp, had made it the center of their connections with the continent. The Dutch had long attempted, though in vain, to appropriate it to themselves, till it so strongly excited their jealousy, that they even endeavoured to fill up the port. It was in every respect fit to become the staple of a great trade. The distance of this little country from the bulk of the Prussian forces might be attended with some inconveniences; but Frederic expected that the terror of his name would keep the maritime powers in awe. In this persuasion, he established an East India Company at Embden in 1751.

BOOK V.

THE capital of this new ſociety, divided into two thouſand ſhares, was 3,956,000 livres*, chiefly ſubſcribed by the Engliſh and Dutch, notwithſtanding the ſevere prohibitions of their governments. They were allured by the unlimited freedom they were to enjoy, on paying three per cent. to the ſovereign upon every ſale they ſhould make. The event did not anſwer their expectation; ſix ſhips, ſent ſucceſſively to China, brought to the owners no more than their bare capital, and a profit of half per cent. for each year. Another Company, formed ſoon after in the ſame place for Bengal, was ſtill more unſucceſsful. They never attempted more than two expeditions; and the only return they had was a law-ſuit, which probably will never be determined. The tranſactions of both theſe ſocieties were ſuſpended upon the commencement of hoſtilities in 1756, but their final diſſolution was not ſettled till 1763.

THIS has been the only check the king of Pruſſia's greatneſs has ever received. We know how difficult it is to judge of the merit of cotemporaries; becauſe they are not at a ſufficient diſtance. Princes are of all men thoſe we can leaſt hope to be acquainted with. Fame ſeldom ſpeaks of them without prejudice. We commonly judge of them upon the reports of ſervile flattery, or unjuſt envy. The clamours of the various intereſts and opinions, that are in perpetual agitation around them, confound or ſuſpend the judgment of the wiſeſt men.

* 164,833l. 6s. 8d.

YET,

YET, if we might be allowed to pronounce from a multitude of facts connected together, we ſhould ſay of Frederic, that he had been able to extricate himſelf from the ſchemes of all Europe combined againſt him; that to the greatneſs and boldneſs of his enterprizes, he joined the moſt impenetrable ſecrecy in the execution of them; that he introduced a total change in the art of war, which, before his time, was thought to have attained it's higheſt degree of perfection; that he ſhewed a fortitude ſcarcely to be paralleled in hiſtory; that he turned his very miſtakes to better advantage than others do their ſucceſs; that all mankind were either loſt in ſilent admiration of his actions, or could not ſufficiently extoll them; and that he reflected as much luſtre upon his nation, as other nations reflect upon their ſovereign.

THIS prince always preſents a formidable aſpect. The opinion he has given of his abilities; the indelible remembrance of his actions; an annual revenue of ſeventy millions *; a treaſure of more than two hundred †; an army of a hundred and fourſcore thouſand men: all theſe circumſtances muſt ſecure his tranquillity. Unfortunately it is not ſo beneficial to his ſubjects as it was formerly. He ſtill leaves the management of the coin to the Jews, who have introduced the greateſt confuſion. He has done nothing for the relief of the richeſt merchants in his dominions, who have been ruined by his

* 2,916,666l. 13s. 4d. † 8,333,333l. 6s. 8d.

BOOK V.

ſchemes. He has taken the moſt conſiderable manufactures into his own hands. His dominions are full of monopolies, which are the bane of all induſtry. His people, who idolized him, have been given up to a ſet of foreign plunderers. This conduct hath occaſioned ſuch diſtruſt, both at home and abroad, that we may venture to affirm, that all endeavours to reſtore the Embden Company will prove ineffectual.

O FREDERIC! thou didſt receive from Nature a bold and lively imagination, an unbounded deſire of knowlege, a propenſity to an active life, and a ſtrength of conſtitution to ſupport the fatigues of it. Thine earlier years were devoted to the ſtudy of government, policy, and legiſlation. At the view of thy firſt exploits, mankind, groaning under general oppreſſion and ſlavery, ſeemed to find ſome comfort in their misfortunes, from the expectation that thou wouldſt be their avenger. They foretold thy ſucceſſes, and implored a previous bleſſing upon them; and Europe diſtinguiſhed thee by the title of King and Philoſopher.

WHEN thou didſt firſt appear in the field, all nations were aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of thy marches, at the ſkill diſplayed in thy encampments, and at the excellent diſpoſition thou didſt make of thine army in battle. The ſtrict diſcipline in which thy troops were trained excited univerſal admiration, and inſured them victory: all extolled that mechanical ſubordination which of ſeveral armies makes but one body, whoſe motions, being all governed by one ſingle impulſe,

impulſe, exert their power at once towards the ſame object. Philoſophers themſelves, prejudiced by the hopes thou hadſt raiſed in them, and proud to ſee a friend of the arts and of mankind inveſted with regal dignity, rejoiced perhaps at thy victories, though obtained at the expence of ſo much blood; and they conſidered thee as a model for military kings.

But there is ſtill a more glorious title; that of a patriot king. This is a title never given to thoſe princes, who, making no diſtinction between truth and error, juſtice and partiality, good and evil, conſider the principles of morality merely as metaphyſical ſpeculations, and imagine that human reaſon is ſwayed entirely by intereſt. If the love of glory were extinct in thy breaſt; if the powers of thy ſoul, exhauſted by thy great exploits, had loſt their force and energy; if the childiſh paſſions of old age had reduced thee to a level with the generality of kings; what would then become of thy glory? What would become of thoſe praiſes which fame, and the immortal teſtimony of literature and the arts, have beſtowed upon thee? But let us hope that thy reign and thy life will not appear problematical in hiſtory. Let thine heart again be opened to thoſe noble and virtuous ſentiments that were the delight of thy younger days. Let the latter years of thy life be employed in promoting the felicity of thy people. Let ſucceeding generations experience the effects of that happineſs thou ſhalt beſtow upon the preſent. The power of Pruſſia is the work of thy genius; it has been formed, and it

muſt be ſupported by thee. It muſt be adapted to the ſtate, the glory of which thou haſt raiſed.

Let thoſe numberleſs treaſures that are buried in thy coffers be again brought into circulation, and give new life to the ſtate: let thy private poſſeſſions, which a ſudden change of fortune may deprive thee of, be hereafter only ſupported upon the baſis of the national riches, which never can fail: let thy ſubjects, bending under the intolerable yoke of a ſevere and arbitrary government, find in thee the affections of a parent, inſtead of the vexations of an oppreſſor: let exorbitant taxes upon individuals, and upon articles of conſumption, no longer obſtruct the advancement of agriculture and induſtry: let the inhabitants of the country, recovered from a ſtate of ſlavery, and thoſe of the towns, becoming perfectly free, paſs their lives agreeably to their inclinations and reſpective powers. Thus ſhalt thou give ſtability to the empire which thy brilliant talents have extended, and rendered illuſtrious; thus ſhall thy name be inſerted in the reſpectable, but ſmall, liſt of patriot kings.

Let thy virtues carry thee ſtill further, and induce thee to procure the bleſſing of tranquillity to the earth. Let the influence of thy mediation, and the power of thine arms, compel all turbulent and reſtleſs nations to accept of peace. The univerſe is the country of a great man; it is the ſtage ſuited to the diſplay of thy abilities: may'ſt thou become the benefactor of all mankind!

Such was the diſcourſe I addreſſed to thee in the midſt of that tranquillity in which thou didſt flatter

flatter thyſelf that thou ſhouldſt end thine honourable career: like the Eternal Being, if we may be allowed to ſay ſo, to whom ſongs of praiſe are addreſſed from all regions of the earth, when a great event made thee reſume thy thunder. A power, which never conſulted any thing but it's own aggrandiſement in it's motives for making peace or war; without any regard to the conſtitution of the Germanic body, or to the treaties that guarantee it; without reſpect to the rights of nations and of families; and in contempt of the cuſtomary and general laws of inheritance: this power, I ſay, formed pretenſions, aſſembled troops, appropriated to itſelf, in imagination, the ſpoils of princes too feeble to reſiſt, and threatened the liberties of the empire. Thou haſt prevented theſe evils. The old lion hath ſhaken his mane; he hath iſſued roaring from the place of his retreat, and his young rival has ſhuddered. 'Till this inſtant, Frederic had ſhew'n himſelf powerful. The opportunity has offered of ſhewing himſelf juſt, and he hath ſeized it. Europe has reſounded with prayers for the ſucceſs of his exertions; for he was then neither an ambitious conqueror, nor a rapacious merchant, nor a political uſurper. He had been admired; he now ſhall be bleſſed. I had written at the foot of his ſtatue: THE MOST FORMIDABLE POWERS OF EUROPE WERE COMBINED AGAINST HIM; AND THEY DISAPPEARED BEFORE HIM. I ſhall now engrave an inſcription leſs pompous, but more inſtructive and more noble. NATIONS, HE BROKE THE CHAINS THAT WERE PREPARING FOR YOU.

BOOK V.

PRINCES OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE, HE WILL NOT ALWAYS EXIST.—LOOK TO YOURSELVES.

Settlement of the Spaniards in the Philippines. Deſcription of theſe iſlands.

No greatneſs, no proſperity can exiſt in a monarchy without the influence of the ſovereign; but it does not ſolely depend upon the monarch to do every thing that is calculated to procure the happineſs of his people. He ſometimes meets with powerful obſtacles in the prejudices, the character, and the diſpoſitions of his ſubjects. Theſe indeed may undoubtedly be corrected; but this is a revolution we often expect for a long time, and which has not yet taken place in the Philippines.

The Philippines, formerly know'n by the name of the Manillas, form an immenſe Archipelago to the Eaſt of Aſia. They extend from the ſixth to the twenty-fifth degree north, and have an unequal breadth, ſpreading from forty to two hundred leagues. Among the number of them, which is prodigious, thirteen or fourteen are diſtinguiſhed more conſiderable than the reſt.

These iſlands preſent to the obſerving eye, a terrible and majeſtic proſpect. They are covered with bazaltes, with lava, with ſcoriæ, with black glaſs, with melted iron, with grey and friable ſtones filled with the wrecks of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, with ſulphur kept in a ſtate of fuſion by the continual action of ſubterraneous fires, and with burning waters which communicate with hidden flames. All theſe great accidents of nature are the effect of extinguiſhed volcanos, of ſome that are ſtill burning, and of others that are forming in theſe deep cavities, where com-

combuſtible materials are always in agitation. We may conjecture without preſumption, that theſe countries which may be reckoned among the moſt antient of the globe, are approaching nearer to their deſtruction than any others.

THE aſhes, with which theſe immenſe furnaces cover the ſurface of a deep ſoil for ages paſt; the ſtirring up of the ground inceſſantly renewed by earthquakes; the heats that are common to all the countries ſituated under the torrid zone; the moiſture, which is habitually kept up in theſe regions by the proximity of the ocean, by the height of the mountains, and by foreſts as old as the world: ſuch are probably the cauſes of the almoſt incredible fertility of the Philippines. Moſt of the birds, quadrupeds, plants, fruits, and trees that are found in the reſt of Aſia, are alſo ſeen in this Archipelago, and almoſt every thing here is of a better quality. Some vegetables even are diſcovered here, which do not appear any where elſe. If an intelligent naturaliſt were to go over theſe iſlands with the freedom and the aſſiſtance neceſſary, he would certainly enrich the ſciences with a variety of curious, uſeful, and intereſting knowlege.

UNFORTUNATELY, the climate of the Philippines is not ſo agreeable as the ſoil is fertile. Although the ſea and land breezes may keep up, during ſix months, a greater degree of temperature than might be expected from their ſituation, yet throughout the reſt of the year, the ſky is all on fire with lightning, and the fields are deluged with continual rains. Nevertheleſs, the air is not unwholeſome.

unwholeſome. The conſtitution indeed of foreigners is rather weakened by a ſuperabundant perſpiration: but the natives of the country live to an advanced age, without being expoſed to any infirmities except ſuch as man is liable to every where elſe.

THE center of theſe mountainous iſlands is occupied by ſavages, who ſeem to be the oldeſt inhabitants. Whatever may be their origin, they are negroes, and have moſt of them woolly hair. They are not tall, but are ſtrong and nervous. Sometimes a whole family forms itſelf into a little community; but moſt frequently each individual lives with his female companion alone. They never quit their bows and arrows. Accuſtomed to the ſilence of the foreſts, they ſeem alarmed at the leaſt noiſe. Their life is entirely the ſame as that of beaſts. The fruits and roots they find in the woods are their only food; and, when they have exhauſted one ſpot, they go and inhabit another. All endeavours to reduce them to ſubjection have proved ineffectual, becauſe nothing is more difficult than to ſubdue a nation wandering among places that are inacceſſible.

THE plains from which they have been driven, have been ſucceſſively inhabited by colonies from Malacca, Siam, Sumatra, Borneo, Macaſſar, the Moluccas, and Arabia. The manners, idiom, religion, and government of theſe ſtrangers, evidently diſtinguiſh their ſeveral origins.

The Spaniards and Portugueſe diſpute the poſſeſſion of the Philippines.

MAGELLAN was the firſt European who diſcovered theſe iſlands. Upon ſome diſcontent, he left Portugal, his native country, and entered into the

the ſervice of the Emperor Charles V. and paſſing the ſtreights that now bear his name, he arrived at the Manillas in 1521; from whence, after his death, his lieutenants repaired to the Moluccas, diſcovered ten or eleven years before by the Portugueſe. This voyage would probably have been attended with remarkable conſequences, had they not been prevented by the combination we are going to mention.

In the fifteenth century, while the Portugueſe were beginning to make voyages to the Eaſt-Indies, and endeavouring to monopoliſe the trade of ſpices, and of manufactures which had been in conſtant requeſt among civilized nations; the Spaniards, by the diſcovery of America, were ſecuring greater treaſures than imagination could form any conception of. Though both nations were purſuing their reſpective views of aggrandizement in far diſtant regions, they might probably interfere with each other; and their mutual antipathy would have made ſuch an event dangerous. To prevent this, the Pope fixed their reſpective claims in 1493, in conſequence of that univerſal and ridiculous power which the Roman pontiffs had aſſumed for ſeveral centuries, and which the idolatrous ignorance of the two nations, equally ſuperſtitious, ſtill kept up, that they might plead the excuſe of religion for their avarice. He gave to Spain all the countries that ſhould be diſcovered to the weſt of a meridian taken a hundred leagues from the Azores, and to Portugal whatever land they might conquer to the eaſt of that meridian. The year following, the powers

BOOK V.

concerned agreed among themſelves, at Tordeſillas, to remove the line of ſeparation to the diſtance of three hundred and ſeventy leagues from the Cape de Verd iſlands. This, in the eyes of the moſt intelligent people, was a ſuperfluous precaution. But, at that period, men were not ſufficiently acquainted with the theory of the earth, to know, that, as the navigators of one crown advanced to the weſt, and thoſe of the other to the eaſt, they muſt ſooner or later, meet in the ſame point. Magellan's expedition evinced this truth.

THE Court of Liſbon did not conceal the uneaſineſs they felt at this event. They were determined to run any riſque, rather than ſuffer a rival, already too much favoured by fortune, to come and diſpute with them the empire of the Aſiatic ſeas. However, before they ventured to contend with the only power whoſe naval ſtrength was then formidable, they thought it adviſeable to try the method of negociation; and ſucceeded better in it than they expected. Charles V., who was frequently in want of money to carry on his too immenſe and too frequent undertakings, gave up irrevocably, in 1529, for the ſum of 350,000 ducats, or 2,598,750 livres *, all the pretenſions he might have upon the countries recognized under his name in the Indian ocean: he even extended the Portugueſe line of ſeparation to the Ladrone iſlands. This is at leaſt the account given by the Portugueſe hiſtorians; for the Caſtilian

* 108,181 l. 15 s.

ſtilian writers ſay, that their monarch reſerved to himſelf the power of renewing the diſcuſſion of his rights, and of reſuming them if the deciſion ſhould be in his favour: but only after he had refunded the money he had received.

THE treaty of Saragoſſa met with the ſame fate as other political conventions.

The Spaniards form ſettlements at the Philippines. Reaſons that have prevented the ſucceſs of them.

IN 1564, Philip II. reſumed the project of conquering the Manillas. Spain was then too much weakened by her conqueſts in America, to think of founding by force, a new empire at the extremity of the Eaſt Indies. The mild methods of perſuaſion were for the firſt time adopted in her plan of aggrandizement. She charged ſeveral miſſionaries with the office of acquiring new ſubjects for her, and they did not entirely fruſtrate her expectations.

THE men, upon the coaſts, who were formerly idolators or Mohammedans, and who were made ſubject to Spain by the Chriſtian religion, were not entirely ſavages, as thoſe of the inland parts. They had chiefs, laws, houſes, and ſome imperfect arts. Several of them had ſome knowlege of agriculture. The property of the fields they had ſow'n was confirmed to them; and the happineſs they enjoyed made others deſirous of acquiring poſſeſſions. The monks, commiſſioned to diſtribute them, reſerved for themſelves the moſt extenſive, beſt ſituated, and moſt fertile portions of this immenſe territory; and the government made a formal ceſſion of theſe lands to them.

GREAT things were expected from theſe arrangements, imperfect even as they were. Many cauſes have combined to prevent the ſucceſs of them.

BOOK V.

In the firſt place, moſt of the miſſionaries, brought up in the ignorance and indolence of a cloiſtered life, have not ſpurred on the Indians under their direction to labour, as much as they ought to have done. It may even be ſaid, that they have diverted them from it by employing them inceſſantly in religious ceremonies, meetings, and ſolemnities. A ſyſtem, as repugnant to every kind of rational worſhip, as to ſound policy, has left the lands diſtributed to the ſubjected people in a ſtate of annihilation. Even the lands of their blind guides, have been little or ill cultivated; and this, perhaps, becauſe the government diſtributes 525,000 livres * annually to theſe monks.

The conduct of the Spaniards has always encouraged this fatal inactivity. The propenſity to idleneſs which theſe proud men had brought with them from their country, was ſtill more confirmed by the permiſſion which the Court granted them, of ſending every year to America a ſhip laden with the productions and manufactures of Aſia. The treaſures which were brought back by this immenſe veſſel, made them conſider the moſt creditable and leaſt laborious occupations as diſgraceful and inſupportable. Their indolence ſuggeſted no other reſource to keep up a voluptuous life. Accordingly, when the misfortunes of war ſuſpended for a year or two the fitting out of this galeon, moſt of theſe conquerors were plunged in the moſt dreadful miſery. They became beggars, thieves, or aſſaſſins. The troops

* 21,875 l.

were

were participators in theſe enormities, and the tribunals of juſtice were ineffectual againſt ſo many crimes.

The Chineſe naturally preſented themſelves to give to the arts, and to agriculture, that activity which the lazineſs and the pride of the Spaniards denied them. The navigators of this celebrated nation frequented from time immemorial the Manillas, to obtain the productions natural to theſe iſlands. They continued to reſort to them after they had ſubmitted to a foreign yoke. Their numbers increaſed ſtill more, when the riches of Mexico and Peru, which circulated there, gave room for more extenſive ſpeculations. A great number of artiſts, and a ſtill greater number of cultivators, who were too numerous in this flouriſhing empire, were ſoon brought there by their ſhips. Theſe laborious, œconomical, and intelligent men, offered to clear the lands, to eſtabliſh manufactures, and to ſet on foot every ſpecies of induſtry, upon condition that the property of ſome parts of an immenſe territory, which had no owner, ſhould be given to them, and that the tributes exacted from them ſhould be moderate. This was an infallible method of eſtabliſhing, at the extremity of Aſia, a flouriſhing colony, without loſs of men, and without any pecuniary ſacrifice. Unfortunately for the Philippines, the Spaniards have not been ſufficiently ſenſible of this truth; nevertheleſs, the little good that has been done in theſe iſlands has been the work of theſe Chineſe.

BOOK V.

Preſent ſtate of the Philippines.

SPAIN has ſubmitted to it's dominion in this Archipelago ſome parts of nine large iſlands. That of Luconia, which is the moſt conſiderable, is five-and-twenty leagues in length, and thirty or forty in breadth. The Spaniards land there at a great circular bay, formed by two capes, at the diſtance of two leagues from each other. In this ſhort ſpace, we meet with the ſmall iſland of Marivelles, which leaves two paſſages open; the eaſtern one is the narroweſt, and the ſafeſt.

To the ſouth-eaſt of the bay ſtands the harbour of Cavite, which is in form of a horſeſhoe, and is defended by a ſmall fort, and a garriſon of three hundred men. Twelve ſhips may ride here in ſafety upon a ſlimy bottom. Here it is that the veſſels neceſſary for the ſervice of the colony are conſtructed.

IN the ſame bay, at three leagues diſtance from Cavite, near the mouth of a navigable river, riſes the famous city of Manilla. L'Egaſpe, who took it from the Indians in 1571, judged it a proper place to become the center of the ſtate that was to be founded, and fixed the ſeat of government and commerce there. Gomez Peres de las Marignas incloſed it with walls in 1590, and built the citadel of St. James. The city has been ſince enlarged and embelliſhed. The river, which traverſes it, deſcends from a lake that is twenty leagues in circumference. It is formed by forty rivulets, upon each of which is ſettled a colony of Indian cultivators. It is from hence that the capital of the empire received it's ſubſiſtence.

ſiſtance. Unfortunately it is ſituated between two volcanos which communicate with one another, and the cavities of which, always in fermentation, ſeem to pave the way for it's ruin.

According to the calculation of 1752, throughout the whole Archipelago, there are no more than one million three hundred and fifty thouſand Indians who have ſubmitted to the Spaniſh yoke. Moſt of them are Chriſtians; and from the age of ſixteen to fifty, they all pay a poll-tax of four reals, or two livres fourteen ſols*. They have been diſtributed in twenty-two provinces, of which the iſland of Luçonia alone, though not entirely ſubdued, contains twelve.

The ſettlement is ſubject to a governor, whoſe office continues eight years, but who is ſubordinate to the viceroy of Mexico. He commands the army, diſpoſes of all civil and military employments, and may grant lands to the ſoldiers, and even erect them into fiefs. This power, though only balanced by the influence of the clergy, has been found ſo dangerous, that many expedients have been deviſed to check it's exorbitancy. The moſt effectual of theſe expedients, is that, by which it is decreed, that the conduct of a governor ſhall be arraigned even after his death; and that, when a governor lives beyond the time of the expiration of his office, he ſhall not quit the place till his adminiſtration has been inquired into. Every individual is at liberty to complain; and, if he has ſuffered any wrong, he is to be indem-

* 2s. 3d.

BOOK V.

nified at the coſt of the delinquent, who is likewiſe condemned to pay a fine to the ſovereign, for having brought an odium upon him. At the time this wiſe inſtitution was made, it was obſerved with ſuch rigour, that, when accuſations were of importance againſt the governor, he was impriſoned. Several died in confinement; and others were taken out, only with a deſign to inflict ſevere puniſhments upon them. By degrees this formidable mode of proceeding has come to nothing. The chief of the colony gives his ſucceſſor enough to pay for his poſt; he having already received the ſame ſum from his predeceſſor.

This colluſion has brought on a ſettled ſyſtem of oppreſſion. Arbitrary taxes have been levied; the public revenue has been leſſened in paſſing through the hands that were appointed to collect it; a duty of ſeven per cent. which has been laid on all merchandize on it's coming in, has made trade degenerate into ſmuggling; the farmer has been compelled to lay up his crops in the magazines of the government; and ſome governors have carried their tyranny to ſuch atrocious lengths, as to determine the quantity of corn that the fields were to produce, and to oblige the farmers to bring it in; and not only to wait for the payment as long a time as their oppreſſive maſters ſhould think proper, but alſo to receive it in whatever manner it could be given to them. For theſe two centuries paſt, ſome upright governors have attempted to put an end to theſe enormities; but their endeavours have proved ineffectual,

effectual, becauſe the abuſes were too inveterate to yield to a tranſient and ſubordinate authority. Nothing leſs than the ſupreme power of the court of Madrid could have reſtrained this ſpirit of univerſal rapaciouſneſs; but this power has never exerted itſelf for ſuch a purpoſe. This ſhameful neglect is the true cauſe why the Philippine iſlands have never been in the leaſt improved. Their name would ſcarcely be know'n, were it not for their connections with Mexico.

THOSE connections, which have ſubſiſted ever ſince the firſt ſettlement of the Spaniards in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, conſiſt only in conveying the merchandize of India to America by the South Sea. None of the articles that compoſe theſe rich cargoes are the produce either of the ſoil or of the induſtry of thoſe iſlands. Their cinnamon is brought from Batavia. The Chineſe bring them ſilks; and the Engliſh or the French ſupply them with white linens and printed callicoes from Bengal and Coromandel. From whatever port the goods have been brought, they muſt come in before the departure of the galeons. If they ſhould arrive later, they could not be diſpoſed of, or muſt be ſold at a loſs to merchants, who are obliged to ſhut them up in warehouſes, 'till they are forgotten. The payments are made in cochineal and Mexican piaſtres, and partly in cowries, which are not current in Africa, but will paſs every where on the banks of the Ganges.

Dangers to which the Philippines are expoſed.

A SETTLEMENT, which has not a more ſolid foundation, may perhaps be eaſily overthrow'n. We do not therefore heſitate to foretel, that the

BOOK V.

Philippines will one day, ſooner or later, be taken from it's preſent poſſeſſors. A few reflections will be ſufficient to give theſe conjectures the conviction of evidence.

Some enlightened navigators have informed us, that the Spaniſh poſſeſſions, which in theſe diſtant regions had always been in a languid ſtate, are become perceptibly more ſo ſince the year 1768, when the Jeſuits were baniſhed from them. Beſides that the immenſe domains of theſe miſſionaries are entirely fallen off from the fertility to which they had brought them; the lands of the Indians likewiſe whom they governed, which were the only ones tolerably cultivated, and where ſome uſeful arts were to be found, have ſunk again into that ſtate of annihilation from whence they had been raiſed. It has even happened that theſe iſlanders, the leaſt indolent perſons of the colony, have been expoſed to the ſame odium, well or ill founded, which purſued their guides.

A greater calamity affected this Archipelago the next year. All the Chineſe, without exception, were baniſhed from it; and this proſcription occaſioned a breach, which, in all probability, will never be cloſed. Theſe people, whoſe ruling paſſion is avarice, came every year to the Philippines with five-and-twenty, or thirty ſmall veſſels, and gave encouragement to ſome labours to which they alone could fix a price. Theſe were not the only advantages. A number of their countrymen, ſettled in theſe iſlands, gave an habitual example of a life conſtantly ſpent in employment. Several of them even viſited the Indian colonies, and,

and, by making them timely and cautious advances, inſpired them with the deſire, at the ſame time that they furniſhed them with the means, of improving their ſituation. It is to be regretted, that theſe means of proſperity have been annihilated, by the impoſſibility which the Spaniards perhaps experienced, of containing a people ſo prone to inſurrections.

Before theſe deſtructive events, the people manifeſted a determined averſion for their tyrants. Oppreſſion had often made them break through the bounds of obedience; and without the intervention of their paſtors, the unavailing efforts of degenerate troops would never have brought them again into ſubjection. Since the expulſion of theſe miſſionaries, who had moſt influence over them, has deprived the Spaniſh government of it's greateſt ſtrength, the Indians, who are leſs reſtrained, muſt be deſirous of recovering their independence, and may have, perhaps, ſufficient energy to reaſſume their primitive rights.

To theſe dangers, which may be called domeſtic, foreign perils are added, which are ſtill more alarming. Some ſavages, iſſuing form the Malays iſlands, make habitual incurſions on the coaſt of the Philippines, carrying deſtruction along with them, and taking off thouſands of the Chriſtians, whom they reduce to ſlavery. This piracy is ſeldom puniſhed; becauſe the Spaniards, divided into four factions, know'n by the name of Caſtilians, Galicians, Mountaineers, and Biſcayans, are entirely taken up with the hatred that torments them, and behold, with

BOOK V.

an indifferent eye, whatever is foreign to their diſputes. The Malays have always been more and more emboldened by theſe diviſions. Already have they driven the common enemy from ſeveral iſlands. They are every day incroaching upon them, and will ſoon become maſters of the poſſeſſion, unleſs they be prevented by ſome European nation, more powerful, or more active than the one they now have to contend with.

In 1762, the Engliſh got poſſeſſion of the Philippines with more facility than they had expected. Although they were deprived of them by treaty, they may perhaps be ſtill ambitious of ſeizing upon them again, when an opportunity ſhall offer. Other nations may equally aſpire to this conqueſt, in order to make it the center of their empire in the ſeas and upon the continent of India. It is therefore probable that the Spaniards will be driven from the Philippines.

Some politicians think that this would not be an evil; an opinion that has long been entertained. The Philippines had but juſt opened a communication with America, when the Spaniards thought of giving them up, as being prejudicial to the intereſt of the mother-country. Philip II. and his ſucceſſors conſtantly rejected that propoſal, which was often renewed. The city of Seville in 1731, and that of Cadiz in 1733, entertained more rational notions. Both theſe cities imagined, and it is rather ſurpriſing that the idea did not occur ſooner, that it would be advantageous to the Spaniards to have a direct concern with the trade of Aſia, and that the poſſeſſions they had in

thoſe parts ſhould be made the center of their traffic. In vain was it urged, that as India affords ſilks and cottons ſuperior to thoſe of Europe, both in workmanſhip and colouring, and at a much cheaper price, the national manufactures could not ſupport the competition, but would infallibly be ruined. This objection might have it's weight with regard to ſome nations; but appeared altogether frivolous, conſidering the ſituation of Spain.

Advantages that might be made of the Philippines.

The Spaniards, indeed, uſe none but foreign ſtuffs and linen, either for wearing-apparel or furniture. Thoſe continual demands muſt neceſſarily increaſe the induſtry, the wealth, the population, and ſtrength of their neighbours, who avail themſelves of theſe advantages, to keep that nation which ſupplies them in a ſtate of dependence. They would certainly act with more wiſdom and dignity, were they to uſe the Indian manufactures. They would be preferable, both in point of œconomy and elegance, and would leſſen that competition which muſt, in the end, prove fatal to Spain.

The inconveniences, which uſually attend new undertakings, are here previouſly obviated. The iſlands which Spain poſſeſſes lie between Japan, China, Cochinchina, Siam, Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas, and are favourably ſituated for forming connections with thoſe ſeveral kingdoms. Their diſtance from Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal, would not prevent them from protecting effectually any factories it might be thought advantageous to eſtabliſh on theſe induſtrious coaſts.

BOOK V.

They would, moreover, be defended by immenſe ſeas from the ravages which ſo often affect the continent; and would be eaſily preſerved from the temptation of interfering in the conteſts which prevail there.

This diſtance, however, would not prevent the Archipelago from being ſure of ſubſiſtence. No country in Aſia abounds more in fruits, ſago, cocoa-trees, and eſculent plants of all kinds. Rice, which in the greater part of India muſt be watered by dint of labour twice a day, 'till it's grain is well formed, is more eaſily cultivated in the Philippines. When it is ſow'n on the borders of rivers, or in plains which may be covered with water at pleaſure, it yields two plentiful crops in a year, without requiring any attention, 'till the time of gathering it.

All the grains of Europe thrive in theſe iſlands. They would furniſh a ſufficiency of them for the ſailors, however numerous they might be, if the negligence and tyranny of the government had not condemned moſt of the lands to a ſhameful ſterility.

The number of cattle on theſe iſlands, is a matter of aſtoniſhment to all voyagers. Every religious community has meadows from five-and-twenty to thirty leagues in extent, covered with forty, and fifty thouſand oxen. Although they are not watched, they ſeldom get beyond the rivers and mountains which are the boundaries of theſe poſſeſſions. Thoſe which happen to go aſtray, are eaſily know'n again, by the mark of the different orders which is impreſſed on them with

with a hot iron, and they are always faithfully reſtored to their proper owners. Since the invaſion of the Engliſh, and the ravages that were the conſequence of it, the number of horned cattle is leſſened; but it is ſtill very conſiderable.

Before the year 1744, none of our vegetables grew on the fertile ſoil of the Philippines. At this period, Mahé de Villebague carried ſome ſeeds there. All theſe uſeful plants had ſucceeded, when eight months after, the cultivator, who was called away elſewhere by his commercial concerns, left his garden to another Frenchman ſettled in theſe iſlands. The Spaniards, who had not without jealouſy ſeen a foreigner ſhew them what they ought to have done two centuries before, roſe up with ſo much violence againſt his ſucceſſor, that in order to reſtore tranquillity, the adminiſtration thought themſelves obliged to order theſe wholeſome roots to be pulled up. Fortunately, the Chineſe, who are inceſſantly intent upon every thing that can contribute to the improvement of their fortune, had privately taken care of them. By degrees the people grew reconciled to an innovation of ſo uſeful a kind; and it is at preſent one of the chief reſources of the colony.

Such is then one of the effects of national hatred, that it inclines the natives rather to deprive themſelves of a benefit, than to owe it to ſtrangers; and particularly to the French, who of all other nations are the moſt deteſted, notwithſtanding the connection ſubſiſting between the two governments? From whence can this antipathy ariſe?

BOOK V.

If we travel much, we ſhall not find any people ſo mild, ſo affable, ſo frank, ſo polite, ſo lively, ſo gallant as the French. They are ſometimes too much ſo; but is this ſo great a fault? They are warmly and quickly intereſted, and ſometimes for trifling matters, while objects of more importance, either affect them little, or only excite their ridicule. This is their favourite weapon, and the moſt formidable for others as well as for themſelves. They paſs rapidly from pleaſure to pain, and from pain to pleaſure. A Frenchman would find himſelf fatigued with a continuation of the ſame happineſs; he ſcarce ever experiences any deep ſenſations. He becomes infatuated with any thing; but he is neither whimſical, nor impatient, nor enthuſiaſtic. He cares very little for religion, but he reſpects the prieſthood, without having either eſteem or reverence for it. He never troubles himſelf about affairs of ſtate, unleſs it be to write his ballad, or his epigram upon the miniſtry. This levity is the origin of a ſpecies of equality, of which there are no traces any where elſe. It ſometimes puts a man of the loweſt rank, who has wit, upon a level with a nobleman. The French, are in ſome ſort, a people of women: for it is among the women particularly, that in the midſt of inconſiſtency, folly and caprice, we diſcern ſome great emotion that ſurprizes us, we hear ſome word that delights us, and we perceive ſome act of ſtrength and ſublimity. The French are endowed with exquiſite ſenſibility, and with a very refined taſte; this is conſiſtent with the ſentiment of honour,

the gleam of which diffuſes itſelf over all ranks, and upon every object. The French are brave. They are rather indiſcreet than open; more libertine than voluptuous. That ſocial diſpoſition, which leads them to aſſemble in numerous companies, and to viſit ſeveral of theſe in a day, makes every thing grow old with them in an inſtant; writings, politics, faſhions, vices and virtues. Every week has it's hero, in good as well as bad actions. France is the country where it is moſt eaſy for a man to get himſelf talked of, and where it is moſt difficult for him to be talked of for any time. A Frenchman loves talents of all kinds; and they are ſupported in his country leſs by the rewards of government than by popular eſtimation. He honours genius. He is too ready in growing familiar; which is an inconvenience to himſelf, and to all perſons who wiſh to conciliate reſpect. The Frenchman in your company is every thing you would with him to be, but you muſt be upon your guard with him; for he improves upon every thing that others invent. Such are the features of which he carries the impreſſion in a manner more or leſs marked, into thoſe countries which he viſits, rather to gratify his curioſity, than to add to his knowlege. Accordingly, he brings back with him nothing more than pretenſions. He is better calculated for converſation than for friendſhip. He has a numerous ſet of acquaintance, and yet he often dies in ſolitude. He is the being upon the face of the earth, who has moſt enjoyments, with the feweſt regrets. As he does not attach himſelf ſtrongly

BOOK V.

ſtrongly to any thing, he has ſoon forgotten what he had loſt. He poſſeſſes, in a ſuperior degree, the art of ſubſtitution, and is aſſiſted in it by every thing about him. If we except that diſguſting partiality he has for his own country, and which it is not in his power to conceal, the young Frenchman, chearful, light, agreeable and trifling, appears to me the moſt amiable man of his nation; and the Frenchman, matured by age, well-informed, and prudent, who has preſerved all the agreeable manners of his youth, is the moſt amiable, and the moſt eſtimable man of all countries.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, moſt people have an averſion to the French: but they are particularly intolerable to the Spaniards, to thoſe among them eſpecially, who have not contraſted the vices, virtues, character, and manners peculiar to their country, with others of a totally oppoſite nature. This averſion ſeems even to have become more confirmed ſince the beginning of the preſent century. We ſhould be tempted to ſuſpect, that France is conſidered by the nation to which ſhe has given a king, with the ſame contempt, as a man of quality, who has married below his rank, ſhews for his wife's family. If this be the caſe, the prejudice will never be overcome, 'till the Bourbons ſhall have been naturalized in Spain, by a long ſucceſſion of flouriſhing reigns.

LET us now return to the Philippines.

INDEPENDENT of what ſerves for the ſubſiſtence of the natives of the country, and of the conquerors, theſe iſlands afford a number of objects, fit for the trade carried on from one part of India

to

to another; ſuch as tobacco, rice, canes, wax, oils, cowries, ebony, dried fiſh, raiſins, Japan wood: but more eſpecially thoſe birds neſts, dried ſtag's pizzles, and ſea-dogs, which are ſo eagerly ſought after by all the people of Aſia, and particularly by the Chineſe.

HITHERTO, ſugar has been only cultivated for the conſumption of the colony. The apprehenſion of having it's price a little raiſed, has occaſioned the exportation of it to be prohibited, with heavy penalties. This erroneous ſyſtem cannot laſt. Permiſſion will ſoon be obtained to furniſh the greateſt part of Aſia, with a production, for which the ſoil of the Philippines is extremely favourable. Iron will be an additional object of the trade of theſe iſlands.

THIS metal abounds, and is of ſuperior quality, throughout the whole Archipelago. Nevertheleſs, none of the mines had yet been opened, till about the year 1768, when Simon de Auda, fortunately thought of eſtabliſhing forges. The ſucceſs would have been more certain, if this active governor had not begun too many undertakings at once; if his projects had been more maturely conſidered; and if he had employed, to bring them to perfection, methods more conformable to the principles of humanity and juſtice.

THE excellent copper which is diſperſed over ſeveral of the Philippine iſlands, is not leſs worthy of the attention of government. This metal is employed in India for the veſſels uſed in public worſhip, for ordinary utenſils, for coins,

BOOK V.

which muſt be inceſſantly renewed, becauſe the people are as eager to bury them, as rich men are to conceal more precious treaſures, under ground. The Dutch draw from Japan, what is neceſſary to ſupply all theſe wants. They will neceſſarily loſe this branch of their trade, if the Spaniards, awakened from their lethargy, ſhould venture to diſpute it with them.

The Philippines, have, above the other European colonies, the advantage of poſſeſſing gold. The Indians find ſome particles of it in the ſand and ſlime of the rivers, which carry it along with their ſtreams. The quantity they collect may amount to five or ſix hundred thouſand livres * per annum. They deliver it in private to ſome foreign navigators, who in return ſupply them with merchandize. Formerly, it was ſent into America, for Cavendiſh found to the value of 658,800 livres † of it, upon the galleon that was ſailing towards Mexico. If Spain, foregoing it's antient maxims, ſhould encourage this ſpecies of induſtry, by leaving to thoſe who ſhould devote themſelves to it the free uſe of the riches it would produce, would not that kingdom ſecure to itſelf an additional reſource for trading to advantage in the Indian ſeas?

It would not be reduced to the neceſſity of deſiring that foreign navigators ſhould come in queſt of the productions of theſe iſlands. As the Philippines furniſh plenty of materials for a well-eſtabliſhed navy, it's ſubjects might frequent all

* From 20,833 l. 6 s. 8 d. to 25,000 l. † 27,450 l.

the

the markets, and add the benefit of freighting, to their other advantages.

This activity would pave the way for the communication between this and the mother-country. In the preſent confuſed ſtate of the Philippines, it is not eaſy to foreſee what they may one day furniſh to Spain. It now procures from thence, alum, buffaloes hides, caſſia, woods for dying, ſaltpetre, tortoiſe ſhell, and mother of pearl, which the Chineſe have hitherto bought up, in order to ſell it again to the Europeans at Canton, for three times the price they had given for it; cacao, which though brought from Mexico has not degenerated; and indigo, which the bounty of nature produces ſpontaneouſly. An enlightened man was deſirous of attempting, in 1750, to give this rich plant every improvement it might receive from cultivation. This novelty met with a general and violent oppoſition. The Marquis d' Obando, who was governor at that period, was obliged to take this citizen under his protection, and aſſigned him an incloſed territory, where he might carry on his operations with ſafety. The experiments were all extremely ſucceſsful, and ſince this event, the cultivation of this precious dye has been attended to, though not with ſufficient induſtry.

If an indolence peculiar to the Spaniards had not impeded their progreſs in every thing, they would have naturalized the ſpices, two centuries ago, upon this territory, ſo contiguous to the Moluccas. Perhaps they might have ſhared with the Dutch this ſource of wealth. It will be committing a new fault,

fault, to defer any longer an experiment, the greateſt inconvenience of which is, that of it's being uſeleſs.

This government might alſo be prompted, by the excellent quality of the cotton cultivated in the Philippines, to eſtabliſh there, with the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants of the continent, beautiful and numerous manufactures. While they were waiting for the ſucceſs, which, in new undertakings, however well planned, is always ſlow; the Spaniards would purchaſe in foreign markets the ſilks, calicoes, and other articles of the produce of Aſia, ſuitable to their country, and would obtain them at a lower price than their competitors. All the nations in Europe employ the ſilver they get from America to trade with in India. Before this precious metal can reach the place of it's deſtination, it muſt have paid conſiderable duties, taken a prodigious compaſs, and have been expoſed to great riſques; whereas the Spaniards, by ſending it directly from America to the Philippines, would ſave duties, time, and inſurance; ſo that while they furniſhed the ſame ſum as the rival nations, they would in reality make their purchaſes at a cheaper rate.

If the ſimple plan we have traced out ſhould ever be carried into execution, the Spaniards, who are ſettled in Aſia, would neceſſarily, and for ever emerge from that indolent ſtate of diſſolution, in which they have languiſhed for two centuries. The ſubdued people would bleſs a government that was become equitable; and thoſe who are ſtill contending for their independence

ence, would ſubmit, in multitudes, to the controul of wiſe laws. The neighbouring nations, whom pride or injuſtice have driven from the ports frequented by their forefathers, would again direct their ſhips into harbours, where induſtry and harmony were united. The European merchants, who are oppreſſed with the fetters of monopoly upon the Indian ſeas, would carry their activity, their knowlege, and their ſtock, into an aſylum of happineſs and liberty. The colony, the revenues of which amount to 2,728,000 livres *, would no longer coſt Spain annually 527,500 livres †; and would become one of the fineſt ſettlements in the world.

This revolution can never be effected by an excluſive Company. For theſe two centuries paſt, ſince the Europeans have frequented the ſeas of Aſia, they have never been animated by a truly laudable ſpirit. In vain have ſociety, morality, and politics, been improved amongſt us; thoſe diſtant countries have only been witneſſes of our rapaciouſneſs, our reſtleſſneſs, and our tyranny. The miſchief we have done to other parts of the world, has ſometimes been compenſated by the knowlege we have imparted, and the wiſe inſtitutions we have eſtabliſhed: but the Indians have ſtill continued under their former darkneſs and deſpotiſm; and we have taken no pains to reſcue them from thoſe dreadful calamities. Had the ſeveral governments directed the ſteps of their free traders, it is probable that the

* 113,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. † 21,979 l. 3 s. 4 d.

BOOK V.

love of glory would have been united to a paſſion for riches, and that ſome nations would have made attempts capable of rendering their names illuſtrious. Such noble and diſintereſted intentions could never be purſued by any company of merchants; who, being confined by the narrow views of preſent profit, have never employed their thoughts about the happineſs of the people with whom they traded; a circumſtance, which, being naturally expected, hath never been imputed to them as a crime.

How much would it redound to the honour of Spain, to ſhew a ſenſibility for the intereſts of mankind, and to endeavour to promote them! That nation now begins to ſhake off the fetters of prejudice, which have kept it in a ſtate of infancy, notwithſtanding it's natural ſtrength. It's ſubjects are not yet degraded and corrupted by the contagion of riches, from which they have been happily preſerved by their own indolence, and by the rapaciouſneſs of their government. Theſe people muſt neceſſarily be inclined to what is good; they are capable of knowing it, and no doubt would practiſe it, having all the means in their power from the poſſeſſions their conqueſts have given them in the richeſt countries of the univerſe. Their ſhips, ſailing from their ſeveral ports, might either meet at the Canary iſlands, or ſeparately proceed to their ſeveral deſtinations, and thus be the means of procuring happineſs to the remoteſt parts of Aſia. They might return from India by the Cape of Good Hope; but would go thither by the South Sea, where the ſale

ſale of their cargoes would greatly increaſe their capitals. This advantage would ſecure to them a ſuperiority over their competitors, who ſail with falſe bills of lading, ſeldom carrying any thing but ſilver. They would meet with a freſh ſupply of proviſions up the river Plata, if they ſhould be in want of them. Thoſe who were able to wait longer, would only put into Chili, or even proceed to the iſland of Juan Fernandez.

THIS delightful iſland, which takes it's name from a Spaniard to whom it had been given, and who took a diſlike to it after he had lived there ſome conſiderable time, is ſituated at 110 leagues diſtance from the continent of Chili. It's greateſt length is but about five leagues, and it's breadth not quite two. In this ſmall ſpot, where the land is very mountainous and irregular, there is a clear ſky, pure air, excellent water, and every vegetable that is deemed a ſpecific againſt the ſcurvy. It has appeared from experience, that all ſorts of European and American corn, fruit, and quadrupeds, will ſucceed there extremely well. The coaſts abound with fiſh; and, beſide all theſe advantages, there is alſo a good harbour, where ſhips are ſheltered from every wind but the north, and even that never blows ſo ſtrongly as to be productive of any danger.

THESE conveniences have induced all the pirates, who have infeſted the coaſts of Peru, to put in at Juan Fernandez. Anſon, who went to the South Seas with more important projects, found there a comfortable and ſafe aſylum. The Spaniards, at

BOOK V.

length convinced that the precaution they had taken to deſtroy the cattle they had placed there was inſufficient to keep off their enemies, took the reſolution, in 1750, to people it. Unfortunately, the new colony was placed on too low a ſpot, and of the hundred and ſeventy-one perſons of every age and ſex who compoſed it, five-and-thirty were ſwallowed up, ſix years after, by the ſurges of the ocean, which exceeded it's bounds. Thoſe who had eſcaped the waves, were fixed upon an eminence which commands the harbour; and for their ſecurity, a ſmall fortification has been raiſed, defended by a garriſon of ſixty-ſix men. It now became neceſſary to think of ſupplying their wants. All the ſhips employed in trading between Peru and Chili, were at firſt obliged to ſtop at Juan Fernandez. This tyrannical compulſion could not be laſting; and the government at length reſolved, purpoſely, to ſend two ſhips there every year.

THIS poſt will become a uſeful ſettlement, if the court of Madrid will but attend to her own intereſt. It is needleſs to purſue this ſubject any further. The plan, which we have done nothing more than ſuggeſt, would evidently tend to promote the trade, the navigation, and the greatneſs of Spain. The connections that Ruſſia keeps up with China by land, can never acquire the ſame degree of importance.

General idea of Tartary.

BETWEEN theſe two empires, the greatneſs of which aſtoniſhes the imagination, there is an immenſe ſpace, know'n in the earlieſt times by the name of Scythia, and ſince by that of Tartary. This region,

region, taken in it's full extent, is bounded on the weſt by the Caſpian ſea and Perſia; on the ſouth by Perſia, Indoſtan, the kingdoms of Arracan and Ava, China and Corea; on the eaſt by the Eaſtern ocean; and on the north by the Frozen ocean. One part of theſe vaſt deſerts is ſubject to the Chineſe empire; another is under the dominion of Ruſſia; the third is independent, and is called Khariſm, and Greater and Leſs Bucharia.

The inhabitants of theſe celebrated regions have always lived by hunting and fiſhing, and upon the milk of their flocks; and have ever had an equal averſion for living in cities, for a ſedentary life, and for the toils of agriculture. Their origin and their cuſtoms, ſo far as we are acquainted with them, are equally ancient, for the former could never be traced on account of their ſequeſtered and wandering way of life. They have lived in the ſame manner as their forefathers did; and, if we look back to the remoteſt antiquity, we ſhall find a very ſtriking reſemblance between the men of the earlieſt ages, and the Tartars of the preſent time.

These people have in general been followers of the great Lama, who reſides at Putali, a town ſituated in a diſtrict, which partly belongs to Tartary, and partly to India. This extenſive region, where mountains riſe above one another, is called Boutan by the inhabitants of Indoſtan, Tangut by the Tartars, Tſanli by the Chineſe, Laſſa by the Indians beyond the Ganges, and Thibet by the Europeans.

BOOK V.

THEIR religion appears, from monuments of undoubted authority, to be of above three thouſand years ſtanding, and is founded on the exiſtence of a Supreme Being, and the ſublimeſt principles of morality.

IT has been generally imagined, that the followers of the Lama believe him to be immortal; that, in order to maintain the deception, this divinity never appears but to a few favourites; that, when he receives the adoration of the people, it is always in a kind of tabernacle, where a dim light ſhews rather a faint repreſentation, than an exact reſemblance of that living god; that, when he dies, another prieſt is ſubſtituted in his ſtead, as nearly of the ſame ſize and figure as poſſible; and that by means of theſe precautions, the deluſion is kept up, even on the very ſpot where the farce is acted; and much more, without doubt, in the minds of believers who are further removed from it.

A SAGACIOUS philoſopher has lately deſtroyed this prejudice. It is true, the great Lamas ſeldom ſhew themſelves, the better to maintain that veneration they have inſpired for their perſon and their myſteries; but they give audience to ambaſſadors, and admit princes who come to viſit them. But if their perſon be ſeldom to be ſeen, except on ſome important occaſions, or on great feſtivals, their picture is always in full view, being hung up over the doors of the temple at Putali.

THE circumſtance that has given riſe to the fable of the immortality of the Lamas is, that it

is a tenet of their faith, that the holy ſpirit, which has animated one of theſe pontiffs, immediately upon his death paſſes into the body of him who is duly elected to ſucceed him. This tranſmigration of the divine ſpirit is perfectly conſonant to the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, which has always been the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem in thoſe parts.

THE religion of Lama made conſiderable progreſs in early times. It was adopted in a large part of the globe. It is profeſſed all over Thibet and Mongalia; is almoſt univerſal in Greater and Leſs Bucharia, and ſeveral provinces of Tartary; and has ſome followers in the kingdom of Caſſimere in India, and in China.

THIS is the only form of worſhip that can boaſt of ſuch remote antiquity, without any mixture of other ſyſtems. The religion of the Chineſe has been frequently adulterated by the introduction of foreign deities and ſuperſtitions; which have been adapted to the taſte of the lower claſs of people. The Jews have ſeen an end of their hierarchy, and their temple has been demoliſhed. Alexander and Mohammed uſed their utmoſt endeavours to extinguiſh the ſacred fire of the Gaurs. Tamerlane and the Moguls have in a great meaſure diminiſhed the worſhippers of the god Brama in India. But neither time, fortune, nor men, have ever been able to ſhake the divine power of the great Lama.

THIS is an effect to be reſerved to the improvement of the human mind. If the Tartars be enlightened, they will ſoon examine into the na-

BOOK V.

ture of their creed, they will diſpute, and take up arms againſt each other: but ſuperſtition will ariſe half extinct out of the ſtreams of blood which ſhe has ſhed. In order not to loſe all his influence, the prieſt will give up thoſe points of his ſyſtem which are evidently incompatible with common ſenſe; and he will defend the reſt againſt the attacks of infidels. This revolution will however be more ſlowly brought about, than in thoſe empires which have not a well regulated eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, and where there is not a ſupreme head, whoſe office it is to ſupport the doctrines in their primitive ſtate. The Lamas themſelves confeſs that they are no gods; but they pretend to repreſent the divinity, and to have received a power from heaven to decide ultimately on whatever relates to public worſhip. Their theocracy extends as fully to temporal as to ſpiritual matters; but all civil matters, looked upon profane by them, they conſider as inconſiſtent with their dignity, and therefore commit the care of government to perſons whom they judge to be worthy of their confidence. This circumſtance has ſucceſſively occaſioned the loſs of ſeveral provinces of their vaſt dominions, which have fallen a prey to their governors. The great Lama, who formerly was abſolute maſter of all Thibet, now poſſeſſes but a ſmall part of it.

The religious opinions of the Tartars have never enervated their valour. Hardened by the froſts of the North, and by the fatigues of a wandering life; inceſſantly under arms, and perpetually engaged in battles, theſe people have never

never ceaſed being warlike. An ardent, wild, and reſtleſs diſpoſition, has always diſguſted them of their poor and uncultivated deſerts. Ambition has always attracted their avidity towards the countries of Aſia, celebrated for their opulence. People whom the arts and a ſoft climate have rendered effeminate, could not ſupport the attacks of theſe hardy and ferocious men. The habit of going to war without pay, and without magazines, has carried their paſſion for plunder to the moſt inordinate exceſs: and as they were incapable of ſecuring their conqueſts by equitable laws and a ſtrict policy, they have founded their power in all parts on terror and deſtruction.

It was to check the inroads of theſe robbers into China, that, three hundred years before the Chriſtian æra, that famous wall was built, which extends from the river Hoambo to the ſea of Kamtſchatka; which has a terrace running all along the top of it, and is flanked in different parts with large towers, after the antient manner of fortifying. Such a monument ſhews that there muſt have been at that time a prodigious population in the empire: but at the ſame time it ſeems to indicate that there was a want of proweſs and military ſkill. If the Chineſe had been men of courage, they would themſelves have attacked the roving tribes, or kept them in awe by well-diſciplined armies; if they had been ſkilled in the art of war, they would have know'n that lines five hundred leagues in length, could not be defended in every part, and that, if they were broken but in one

BOOK V.

one place, all the reſt of the fortification would become uſeleſs.

ACCORDINGLY, the inroads of the Tartars continued till the thirteenth century. At that period, the empire was conquered by thoſe barbarians, under the command of Gingis Khan. This foreign power was not deſtroyed till after eighty-nine years, when it fell into the hands of an indolent prince, who was governed by women, and was a ſlave to his miniſters.

WHEN the Tartars were expelled from the conqueſts they had made, they did not adopt the laws and government of China. When they repaſſed the great wall, they relapſed into barbariſm, and lived in their deſerts in as uncivilized a ſtate as they had done before. They united, however, with the few who had continued in their roving way of life, and formed ſeveral hords, which inſenſibly became populous, and in proceſs of time incorporated into that of the Manchews. Their union inſpired them again with the project of invading China, which was tor'n with domeſtic diſſenſions.

THE diſcontented parties were then ſo numerous, that they had no leſs than eight different armies, under the command of as many chiefs. In this confuſion the Tartars, who had long ravaged the northern provinces of the empire, ſeized upon the capital in 1644, and ſoon after upon the whole kingdom.

THIS invaſion did not ſeem ſo much to ſubdue China, as to add to it's extent, by the acceſſion of a great part of Tartary. Soon after this, China

was

was further enlarged by the ſubmiſſion of the Mogul Tartars, celebrated for having founded moſt of the thrones in Aſia, and particularly that of Indoſtan.

THIS extraordinary revolution was ſcarce completed, when the empire was threatened with a new enemy, that might prove a formidable one.

Contentions of the Ruſſians and Chineſe in Tartary.

THE Ruſſians, who towards the latter end of the ſixteenth century had conquered the uncultivated plains of Siberia, had penetrated through a number of deſerts to the river Amour, which led them to the Eaſtern Sea, and as far as Selenga, which brought them on the confines of China, a country highly extolled for it's riches.

THE Chineſe were apprehenſive that the incurſions of the Ruſſians might in time give them ſome diſturbance; and they erected ſome forts to reſtrain this neighbouring power, whoſe ambition began to excite their jealouſy. Sharp conteſts then aroſe between the two nations concerning their boundaries. Skirmiſhes were frequent between the parties engaged in the purſuits of the chace, and an open war was daily expected. Very fortunately the plenipotentiaries of the two courts found means to bring about a reconciliation in 1689; the limits were fixed at the river Kerbechi, near the place of negociation, three hundred leagues from the great wall. This was the firſt treaty the Chineſe had ever been concerned in ſince the foundation of their empire, and it brought on a new arrangement. They granted the Ruſſians the liberty of ſending a caravan every year to Pekin, an indulgence which had always been denied

BOOK V.

nied to foreigners with the utmoſt precaution. It was eaſily perceived that the Tartars, though they conformed to the manners and government of the Chineſe, did not adopt their political maxims.

The Ruſſians obtain leave to ſend a caravan to China; and make other openings for carrying on the trade to that kingdom.

THIS liberty granted to the Ruſſians did not inſpire them with moderation. They perſiſted in their uſurpations, and built, thirty leagues beyond the ſtipulated limits, a city, which they called Albaſſinſkoi or Jaſca. The Chineſe, having in vain complained of this incroachment, at laſt determined to avenge themſelves in 1715. As the Czar was engaged in a war on the Baltic, and could not ſpare troops to defend the extremities of Tartary, the place was taken after a ſiege of three years.

THE court of Peterſburgh was prudent enough not to give way to a fruitleſs reſentment. They ſent a miniſter to Pekin in 1719, with inſtructions to renew the trade that had been loſt amidſt the late diſturbances. The negociation ſucceeded; but the caravan of 1721 not being conducted with more caution than the former, it was agreed, that for the future no tranſactions ſhould be carried on between the two nations except upon the frontiers.

BEFORE this new arrangement, a caravan went every year from Peterſburgh, traverſed immenſe deſerts, and was met on the frontiers of China by ſome hundreds of ſoldiers, who eſcorted it to the capital of the empire. There, all who belonged to it were ſhut up in a caravanſera, to wait till the merchants ſhould offer them the refuſe of their

ware-

warehouſes. The traffic being thus conpleted, the caravan returned to Ruſſia, and arrived at Peterſburgh three years after it had ſet out from thence.

In the ordinary courſe of things, the indifferent merchandize brought by the caravan would have been of very little value; but as this trade was carried on for the court, and that the goods were always ſold under the immediate inſpection of the ſovereign, commodities of the worſt kind acquired a value. The admiſſion to this kind of fair, was a privilege which the monarch ſeldom granted but to his favourites. All were deſirous of approving themſelves worthy of this diſtinction, and the way to ſucceed was by over bidding each other without diſcretion, as each was ambitious that his name ſhould appear upon the liſt of the buyers. Notwithſtanding this ſhameful emulation, what was put up to ſale was ſo trifling, that the produce, deducting the conſumption of the court, never amounted to 100,000 crowns *.

Since the caravans have been diſcontinued, two large magazines have been eſtabliſhed at Kiatcha, one Ruſſian, and the other Chineſe, where all the articles, intended for exchange, are depoſited. Commiſſaries appointed by the two nations ſuperintend this trade, in which ſpecie is very ſeldom uſed. If the Ruſſians, who never give any, are obliged ſometimes to receive gold, they are compelled to cede it to the crown upon terms which indemnify it for the taxes it would have levied on the merchandize.

* 12,500l.

BOOK V.

THE moſt conſiderable of the articles which the Chineſe bring to this ſtaple, is green tea, of an infinitely ſuperior quality to that which Europe receives acroſs the immenſe tract of ſea. Accordingly the Ruſſians are obliged to pay for it as much as twenty livres * per pound; although they ſeldom ſell it again for more than fifteen or ſixteen †. To indemnify them for this loſs, they never fail to raiſe the price of their furs: but this artifice turns out leſs to their advantage than to that of the government, which receives a tax of five-and-twenty per cent. upon every thing that is bought or ſold. The cuſtoms at Kiatcha ſometimes return to the ſtate as far as two millions of livres ‡; in that caſe the trade of Ruſſia with China muſt amount to ſix millions ‖.

IT was not ſo conſiderable, when Peter I. endeavoured to eſtabliſh, through independent Tartary, a communication between Siberia and India.

THAT great prince, whoſe mind was always engaged in ſome uſeful project, was deſirous of opening that communication by means of the Sirth, which waters the Turkeſtan; and in 1719 he ſent 2500 men in order to make himſelf maſter of that river.

THERE was no ſuch river to be found; it's waters had been turned off, and conveyed through ſeveral channels to the lake Arall. This had been done by the Uſbeck Tartars, who had taken

* 16s. 8d.
† From 12s. 6d. 13s. 4d.
‡ 83,333l. 6s. 8d.
‖ 250,000l.

umbrage

umbrage at the repeated obſervations they had ſeen making. So ſingular an incident therefore determined the Ruſſians to return to Aſtracan. The government had loſt ſight of this object, when towards the year 1738, the inhabitants of the two Bucharias, know'n by the name of Bucharſis, were themſelves deſirous of trading with Ruſſia. To encourage this unexpected event, the treaſury gave up part of the enormous duties it generally requires. Orenbourg became the ſeat of this new trade. The Tartars bring there, from their own territories, thoſe beautiful fleeces of lambs, that are cut out of their dam's bellies, in order that the ſkins may be clouded, white and fine. They alſo bring various kinds of merchandize which they have draw'n from Indoſtan, and eſpecially a quantity of rough diamonds. They likewiſe bring about four hundred quintals of excellent rhubarb. Each quintal coſts 500 livres*, and the college of trade ſells it for nearly double that ſum.

We cannot form ſo advantageous an idea of the connections of Ruſſia with the Indies by the Caſpian ſea. This was, however, in the remoteſt ages, the track by which Europe and Aſia communicated with each other. The regions bordering upon that immenſe lake, which are at preſent very much depopulated, extremely poor, and in a ſavage ſtate, afford to intelligent minds undoubted proofs of former ſplendour. Coins of the ancient Kaliphs are daily diſcovered there.

* 20l. 16s. 8d.

Theſe

BOOK V.

Theſe monuments, with others equally authentic, would ſeem to favour the account of ſome Indians having been ſhipwrecked on the coaſts of the Elbe in the reign of Auguſtus, which has always been conſidered as fabulous, notwithſtanding the concurrent teſtimony of cotemporary writers who related the fact. It has never been underſtood how any inhabitants of India could ſail on the Germanic ſeas; but, was it more wonderful to ſee an Indian trading in the northern countries, than to ſee a Roman make his way into India through Arabia? The Indians went into Perſia, where they embarked on the Hircanian Sea, ſailed up the Wolga, penetrated into Permia by the Kama, and from thence might embark on the Northern Sea or on the Baltic.

ENTERPRIZING men have appeared, and will for ever appear, in all ages. Man has within himſelf a natural energy that torments him; and which is directed by taſte, caprice, or faſtidiouſneſs, to the moſt ſingular attempts. He is curious, and deſirous of ſeeing and of being informed. The thirſt of knowlege is leſs univerſal, but it is more irreſiſtible than that of gold. Man travels to a great diſtance in order to acquire ſomething to ſpeak of, and to make himſelf be ſpoken of, in his own country. What the deſire of fame produces in one, the impatience of miſery occaſions in another. It is imagined that fortune is more eaſily acquired in diſtant regions, than near our own home. Men go a great way to obtain, without fatigue, what they could not otherwiſe get without aſſiduous labour. They travel though

through lazineſs; or in ſearch of fools and dupes. There are ſome wretched beings who flatter themſelves they ſhall eſcape their deſtiny by running away from it. There are ſome intrepid men who court danger; others, without either ſtrength of mind or virtue, cannot ſupport a poverty which lowers them in ſociety beneath their ſtation or their birth. Ruin ſuddenly brought on, either by gaming, by diſſipation, or by ill-concerted ſchemes, reduces others to a ſtate of indigence to which they are ſtrangers, and which they go to conceal at the poles, or under the equator. To theſe cauſes may be added others that are productive of conſtant emigrations; ſuch as, the oppreſſions of bad governments, want of religious toleration, and the frequency of diſgraceful puniſhments, which drive the guilty man from a country where he would be obliged to walk with his eyes turned to the ground, to another, where he may boldly paſs for a man of probity, and look his equals in the face.

No ſooner had the Engliſh diſcovered Archangel, about the middle of the ſixteenth century, and ſettled a commerce with Ruſſia, than they formed the project of opening a way into Perſia by the Wolga and the Caſpian Sea, which would be much eaſier and ſhorter than that of the Portugueſe, who were obliged to ſail round Africa and part of Aſia, to get into the Gulph of Perſia. A further inducement to attempt this, was, that the northern parts of Perſia, bordering upon the Caſpian Sea, produce much richer commodities than the ſouthern. The ſilks of Chirvan, Mazanderan,

and more eſpecially Gilan, are the beſt in all the Eaſt, and might be employed with advantage in any manufactures. But the trade of the Engliſh was not yet ſufficiently confirmed, to encounter the difficulties that muſt attend ſo vaſt and ſo complicated an undertaking.

Some years after, a duke of Holſtein, who had eſtabliſhed ſome ſilk manufactures in his dominions, was not deterred by theſe difficulties. He wanted to get the raw ſilk from Perſia, and ſent ambaſſadors thither, of whom there never has been any other account but that of their voyage.

When the French were convinced of the influence of trade on the political balance of Europe, they alſo wiſhed to procure Perſian ſilks by the way of Ruſſia; but their fatal paſſion for conqueſt made them forget this project, as well as many others that have been ſuggeſted by men of underſtanding, for the proſperity of that great nation.

Peter I. guided by his own genius, his own experience, and the informations of foreigners, could not but be ſenſible at laſt, that his ſubjects were the people who ought to enrich themſelves by the productions of Perſia, and in proceſs of time by thoſe of India. Accordingly, in 1722, at the beginning of the commotions that have overturned the empire of the Sophis, that great prince ſeized upon the fertile regions bordering on the Caſpian Sea. The heat of the climate, the dampneſs of the ſoil, and the malignancy of the air, deſtroyed the troops that were left to defend thoſe conqueſts. Ruſſia, however, did not reſolve

reſolve to relinquiſh the provinces ſhe had uſurped, till ſhe found, in the year 1736, that Kouli Khan, who had conquered the Turks, could compel her to reſtore them.

The Court of Peterſburgh laid aſide all thoughts of carrying on any commerce with that part of the world, when an Engliſhman of the name of Elton laid a ſcheme, in 1741, for putting his country in poſſeſſion of it. This enterprizing man was in the ſervice of Ruſſia: his propoſal was, to convey the Engliſh woollen cloths, by way of the Wolga and the Caſpian Sea, to Perſia, to the north of Indoſtan, and to the greateſt part of Tartary. In conſequence of this traffic, he was to receive, in exchange, gold, and ſuch commodities as the Armenians ſold at an extravagant price, being maſters of all the inland trade of Aſia. This project was warmly adopted by the Engliſh Company in Muſcovy, and favoured by the Ruſſian miniſtry.

But the Engliſh adventurer had ſcarce begun to put it in execution, when Kouli Khan, who wanted bold and active men to ſecond his ambition, found means to entice him into his ſervice, and by his aſſiſtance to make himſelf maſter of the Caſpian Sea. The Court of Peterſburgh, exaſperated at this treachery, revoked, in 1746, all the privileges they had granted; but this was an ineffectual remedy for ſo great an evil. The untimely death of the Perſian tyrant was much more likely to bring matters into their former ſtate.

That great revolution, which once more plunged the Sophy's dominions into a more com-

BOOK V.

plete anarchy than ever, reſtored to the Ruſſians the dominion over the Caſpian Sea. This was a neceſſary prelude to the opening of a trade with Perſia and India, but was not alone ſufficient to inſure it's ſucceſs; which met with almoſt inſuperable obſtacles from the Armenians. An active nation, accuſtomed to the Eaſtern manners, in poſſeſſion of a large capital, extremely frugal in their expences, who had already formed connections from time immemorial, entered into the minuteſt details, and embraced the moſt comprehenſive ſpeculations: ſuch a nation was not eaſily to be ſupplanted. Nor did the Court of Ruſſia expect it; but, on the contrary, endeavoured to increaſe the number of theſe able merchants, antiently ſettled at Aſtracan. It's views have not been crowned with ſucceſs. It is however exerting itſelf to ſurmount the obſtacles that have prevented it; and there is much to expect from the new kind of ſpirit that ſeems to animate the whole kingdom of Ruſſia.

Extent, government, population, and revenues of Ruſſia.

THIS empire, which, like all others, roſe from ſmall beginnings, is become, in proceſs of time, the largeſt in the world. It's extent from eaſt to weſt is two thouſand two hundred leagues, and from ſouth to north about eight hundred.

EXCEPTING the provinces conquered at the beginning of this century on the borders of the Baltic, which have preſerved all the rights they before enjoyed; the Ukraine, which has been maintained in the poſſeſſion of ſome of it's rights; and the wandering tribes which it has been impoſſible to ſubmit to any regular ſyſtem of policy; all

all the other parts of the empire are ſubject to the ſame form of government.

UNDER theſe arbitrary laws, a body of ignorant clergy live, who in former times were formidable, but who are become tractable ſince they have been ſtripped of the poſſeſſions laviſhed upon them by ſuperſtition, and of the million of ſlaves who uſed to cultivate them.

AFTER this, a body of nobility preſents themſelves, who are in poſſeſſion of moſt of the lands, and keep in their dependence all the unfortunate men who cultivate them at the ſweat of their brow.

AFTER theſe, comes the claſs of free men. Theſe are ſo obſcure, that Europe has for a long time been ignorant of their exiſtence. At preſent we know that they are compoſed of ſome foreigners, moſtly Germans, whom a reſtleſs ſpirit has determined, or neceſſity compelled, to ſeek a new country; of ſeveral happy and intelligent natives, whoſe chains have been gradually broken, and who profeſs the arts and commerce in the cities; of a ſmall number of cultivators, who have entirely at their own diſpoſal the poor inheritance that has been tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors. The property of theſe farmers becomes, by degrees, the prey of ſome rich man, who, by making them ſome intereſted advances, has indulged them in their lazineſs, or in their profuſion.

LASTLY, the loweſt claſs of the ſtate, if we may give them that name, are the ſlaves. At the beginning of the ſixteenth century, there were few of them, and theſe, all priſoners of war. The

BOOK V.

lords were then in poſſeſſion of fiefs, and the people cultivated lands that belonged to them. A new arrangement took place after the conqueſt of Cazan and Aſtracan. Theſe beautiful and fertile provinces were ſo powerful an attraction to the Ruſſian peaſants, that in order to put a ſtop to the emigration which was becoming general, the rigorous law which confined them all to their own glebe was publiſhed in 1556. At this fatal period they loſt their property as well as their perſonal liberty. Their oppreſſion has ſince been increaſed, and the human ſpecies has been more and more degraded.

This is undoubtedly the cauſe that has retarded or annihilated the population throughout the whole empire. In 1755, it did not contain more than eight million nine hundred and ſixty-five thouſand three hundred and ſixteen males. Suppoſing the number of women equal to that of men, the whole amounted to ſeventeen million nine hundred and thirty thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two ſouls. To this number were added the twelve hundred thouſand inhabitants of the provinces taken from Sweden in the beginning of the century; and it was then found that Ruſſia had under it's dominion nineteen million one hundred and thirty thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two ſubjects, excluſive of the clergy, the nobility, and the army. If the wars with Pruſſia, Poland, and Turkey, epidemical diſeaſes and rebellions have ſince occaſioned an evident diminution of the former population; the great acquiſitions recently made in Lithuania,

muſt

muſt have filled the deficiency cauſed by theſe dreadful ſcourges.

In ſtates, where the population is not numerous, the public revenue cannot be conſiderable. It was ſcarce any thing in money, when Peter I. aſcended the throne. This prince raiſed it to thirty-five millions*. Anna brought it up to ſixty †, and Elizabeth to one hundred and twenty millions ‡. It was carried ſtill higher during the war with the Turks, but was reduced, at the peace, to the ſtandard it was at, when the troubles commenced. At this period, the treaſury owed rather conſiderable ſums to the Genoeſe and Hollanders, which have ſince been paid off. It owed to the nation near two hundred millions ‖ in bank bills, for which it had mortgaged a quantity of copper diſtributed in the different coffers of the empire.

It is an opinion generally received, that the people are groaning under the weight of their taxes. Even after the burden has been much alleviated, it muſt ſtill be more lightened, if the arts do not multiply, and eſpecially, if agriculture be not remarkably improved.

It would be in vain to encourage it in the northern provinces; nothing can thrive in thoſe frozen deſerts. The ſcattered inhabitants of this inhoſpitable climate will never be ſupplied with any kind of food and raiment, except what they can procure from birds, fiſh, and wild beaſts; nor

* 1,458,333l. 6s. 8d.
† 2,500,000l.
‡ 5,000,000l.
‖ 8,333,333l. 6s. 8d.

BOOK V.

will they ever have any thing beſide theſe to pay their taxes with.

FURTHER from the north, nature begins to wear a milder aſpect, and the country is more populous, and more capable of vegetation. In moſt of the provinces, the labourer is in want of nothing but more perfect utenſils, better methods, and more extenſive means for cultivation. The progreſs of knowlege, gives reaſon to think that theſe deficiencies will be remedied. Particular attention will be paid to the Ukraine, which is, perhaps, the moſt fruitful country in the know'n world. It ſupplies Ruſſia with moſt of her home conſumption and articles of trade; and yet ſhe does not receive the twentieth part of what it might be made to produce. The government will ſucceed the more readily in encouraging rural labours, as the Ruſſians have an averſion for reſiding in towns, and that they have iron at their diſpoſal, which is the great and ineſtimable *primum mobile* of agriculture. Nature has furniſhed it in plenty to moſt of the countries of the empire, and has given it to Siberia in as perfect a ſtate as even to Sweden.

BESIDE theſe iron mines, there are alſo others which contain thoſe precious metals that have excited the cupidity of all nations, and in all ages. The ſilver mines near Argun have long been know'n; and others, both of ſilver and gold, have lately been diſcovered in the country of the Baſkirs. It would be prudent in ſome nations to condemn theſe ſources of wealth to oblivion; but this is not the caſe with Ruſſia, where all the in-

land provinces are ſo poor, that they are ſcarcely acquainted with thoſe ſigns that been univerſally agreed upon to repreſent every article of commerce.

General trade of Ruſſia.

THE trade which the Ruſſians have opened with China, Perſia, Turkey, and Poland, conſiſts principally in furs, ſuch as ermine, ſables, white wolves, and black foxes ſkins, which all come from Siberia. Although the caprice of the conſumers has raiſed the value of theſe precious furs beyond what could have been expected; yet their price is ſtill increaſing. Theſe commercial connections ſhould be extended to other objects.

THE exchanges of the empire with the ſtates of the Grand Signior, were reckoned nothing, or very inconſiderable. They will ſoon become of conſequence, if the Ruſſians know how to avail themſelves of the right acquired by the laſt treaties, of paſſing from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, and from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. This privilege, which no other nation had yet obtained, and which none has acquired ſince, muſt give to the trade and navigation of the Ruſſians a degree of extenſion, the boundaries of which it would be preſumptuous to fix.

BUT the greateſt demand for the produce of the country will always be on the coaſts of the Baltic; ſince it is a fact, that the merchandize which conſtantly goes from the ſingle port of Peterſburgh, exceeds by a ninth part the quantity that is ſent from the other two and-forty cuſtoms of the empire. In 1773, the exports of Ruſſia, including

BOOK V.

cluding the duty of five-and-twenty per cent. claimed by the ſovereign, amounted to 106,401,735 livres *: the imports, including the ſame duty, did not exceed 66,544,005 livres †. Conſequently the apparent balance was 39,557,830 livres ‡. We have ſaid the apparent balance; for it is well know'n, by all perſons who are converſant in theſe matters, that the articles which come into the country, being generally of a ſmaller bulk than thoſe which go out of it, muſt neceſſarily furniſh more frequent opportunities of ſmuggling.

No country is ſo happily ſituated as Ruſſia is for extending it's commerce. Almoſt all it's rivers are navigable. Peter the Great improved this natural advantage by the aſſiſtance of art, and ordered canals to be cut to join thoſe rivers together. The moſt important of them are finiſhed; others are not quite completed, and ſome are only planned. Such is the grand project of joining the Caſpian Sea to the Euxine, by digging a canal from the Tanais to the Wolga.

UNFORTUNATELY, theſe means, which render the circulation of all commodities ſo eaſy throughout the whole empire; and which open ſo ready a communication with all parts of the globe, are rendered uſeleſs by a multiplicity of obſtacles. The government has taken off part of the reſtraints which had ariſen from defective inſtitutions. Thoſe which are owen to the manners will not ſo eaſily be got the better of.

* 4,433,406l. 2s. 6d. † 2,772,666l. 17s. 6d.
‡ 1,648,242l. 18s. 4d.

PETER

PETER I. decreed that the vaſſals, who were poſſeſſed of 2,500 livres *, ſhould have the right of being free, upon condition that they and their deſcendents ſhould pay annually to the heirs of their former maſter, what he exacted from them before their freedom. Theſe new citizens, without either education or principles, moſtly became merchants; they brought with them into their recent ſituation the vices they had contracted in ſervitude, and tranſmitted them to their poſterity. The preſent generation ſtill partakes of it's origin.

THE laws do not allow the foreign merchants to buy up the productions of the empire, in any other place except in the ports; and by the nature of the government, the natives have not, or cannot appear to have capitals conſiderable enough to form large magazines. Traders are therefore under a neceſſity of employing ſome Ruſſian agent to make the purchaſes. This man, at the time of his undertaking the buſineſs, always requires half of the ſtipulated price; and the reſt is to be paid on the delivery of the goods. Theſe are ſeldom ſo good as they ſhould be; and yet the purchaſer does not often refuſe them, either becauſe he has ſome orders to fulfil, or becauſe he is apprehenſive, not without reaſon, that he ſhall loſe all the money he has advanced.

IF the foreigner ſhould have any thing to ſell, he cannot find purchaſers unleſs he will allow them a credit of a year, or a year and a half. At the time of payment, they uſually aſk for a freſh in-

* 104l. 3s. 4d.

dulgence.

BOOK V.

dulgence. If it be refuſed them, they are condemned to an intereſt of eighteen per cent. The more the debt increaſes, the more diſtant is the will or the poſſibility of ſatisfying it. Even the atrociouſneſs of the regulations contrived to prevent or to puniſh bankruptcies, is favourable to the inſolvent or fraudulent debtor. It ſeldom happens that the mercy of the judges, or the corruption of the courtiers, does not ſcreen them from the puniſhments decreed againſt them by law. Powerful protections, if they ſhould be neceſſary, will gratify the vengeance of the deluded creditor; but after he has obtained theſe decrees, purchaſed at a very high price, he will only be more certainly diſappointed in the expectation of recovering any thing that was due to him.

These diſhoneſt acts and depredations, have not prevented the trade of the empire from making a tolerable progreſs. This would have been more rapid, and more conſiderable, if the phyſical and natural advantages had not been obſtinately oppoſed by political or moral cauſes; if a miniſtry, ſeduced or corrupted, had not put a ſtop to competition, by favouring England to the prejudice of other nations. A better arrangement in this intereſting part of adminiſtration would contribute much to the public felicity. Let us ſee what influence the army could have upon it.

Military ſtrength of Ruſſia.

When Peter I. aſcended the throne, the military in Ruſſia conſiſted only of 40,000 Strelits, undiſciplined and ferocious men, who had no courage but againſt the people whom they oppreſſed, and againſt the ſovereign, whom they depoſed

depoſed or murdered at pleaſure. This great prince diſbanded thoſe ſeditious troops, and eſtabliſhed an army, modelled after thoſe of the other ſtates in Europe.

Since the death of this reformer of the empire, the troops have been ſtill more improved, and eſpecially increaſed. They have been gradually raiſed to three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand four hundred and fifty-ſeven men.

Notwithstanding the bravery, number, and diſcipline of it's troops, Ruſſia is, of all the powers, that which ought to be the moſt cautious of expoſing the lives of it's ſubjects. The deſire of increaſing a territory already too extenſive, ſhould never tempt the Ruſſians far from their own frontiers; or induce them to begin hoſtilities. Ruſſia will never form a cloſe and compact ſtate, or become an enlightened and flouriſhing nation, unleſs it ſhould renounce the rage of conqueſt, to apply ſolely to the arts of peace. None of it's neighbours can compel it to depart from this ſalutary ſyſtem.

On the north ſide, the empire is better guarded by the Frozen ſea, than it would be by ſquadrons and fortreſſes.

To the Eaſt, a ſingle battalion and two field pieces would diſperſe all the hords of Tartars that ſhould attempt to moleſt it.

Should Perſia ever again become powerful enough to make any attempts againſt this empire, they would be rendered ineffectual by the Caſpian Sea, and by thoſe immenſe deſerts which ſeparate that country from Ruſſia.

To

BOOK V.

To the South, ſeditions, ignorance, want of diſcipline, and every kind of corruption that diſgraces a nation, had for a century paſt, ſhaken the Ottoman empire. The Ruſſians have fallen unawares upon the Turks, in this ſtate of degradation, and have contributed to enfeeble them ſtill more. They have broken the ties which attached the Tartars to this dominion; and by procuring the ceſſion of ſome forts and harbours in the Crimea, have ſecured to themſelves the power of regulating, as their policy requires, the movements of this indefatigable, deſtructive, and ferocious body of horſe.

To the Weſt, the Ruſſians have nothing to fear from the Poles, who never had any fortified towns, nor troops, nor revenue, nor government, and who have lately been deprived of half of their territory.

In the beginning of this century, Sweden loſt thoſe of her conqueſts, from which ſhe derived ſtrength and riches. Whatever degree of energy ſhe may acquire from her new conſtitution, ſhe will never become a formidable power. Far from being in a condition to aggrandize herſelf at the expence of the Ruſſians, ſhe will, on the contrary, always have reaſon to fear, that ſhe ſhall be deprived by them of what ſtill remains to her in Finland.

It may poſſibly happen, that the fault which the court of Peterſburgh has committed, in approximating the Pruſſian territory to their poſſeſſions, may one day occaſion hoſtilities. Some favourable circumſtances may perhaps determine

mine this new neighbour to make good the claims of the Teutonic Knights upon Livonia; and then the blood of the Ruſſians and Pruſſians would ſtain the waters of the Baltic, and would be confounded under the walls of Riga. The ambition of the houſe of Brandenburg will, however, be too habitually oppoſed on the ſide of Germany, to prevent that power from raiſing any conſiderable alarms in the North.

We learn, from theſe obſervations, that the empire might diminiſh conſiderably it's land forces, if they were deſtined only to guard it's provinces from invaſion: but as their chief employment is to retain under the yoke people who are always diſſatisfied with an oppreſſive government, it is not an eaſy matter to determine how far they ought to be reduced. The navy muſt be conſidered in another point of view.

The inconſiderable connections of Ruſſia with the reſt of Europe, were wholly carried on by land, when the Engliſh, in ſeeking a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by the northern ſeas, diſcovered the port of Archangel. Having ſailed up the Dwina, they came to Moſcow, and there laid the foundation of a new trade.

Russia had as yet no other communication with her neighbours but by this port, when Peter I. invited the traders who frequented the White Sea to come to the Baltic, and endeavoured to procure a more extenſive and advantageous mart for the productions of his empire. His creative genius ſoon inlarged his views; and

BOOK V.

he was ambitious of making his country become a maritime power.

His firſt attention was engaged in the conſtruction of veſſels fit for the defence of his own coaſts, and for attacking thoſe of his neighbours. Theſe are galleys of different dimenſions, ſome of which are fitted for cavalry, but a greater number for infantry. As the troops themſelves, who are taught to manage the oar, compoſe the crews, the galleys are armed without expence or delay. The anchor is dropped every night, and the forces land where they are leaſt expected.

When the landing is effected, the troops draw the galleys on ſhore, and form an intrenched camp of them. Part of the army are left to guard them; and the reſt are diſperſed about the country, upon which contributions are to be levied. When the expedition is at an end, they re-embark, in order to renew the ſame plunder and devaſtation on ſome other ſpot. A number of experiments have ſhew'n the efficacy of theſe armaments.

This ſucceſsful beginning encouraged the reformer of Ruſſia to attempt to have large ſhips: and it was at Cronſtadt, which ſerves as a harbour to Peterſburgh, that he ſtationed his fleets.

The ſea is not broad enough before the mouth of the harbour. The ſhips that are coming in are forcibly driven, by the impetuoſity of the Nava, upon the dangerous coaſts of Finland. The way to it is through a channel ſo full of breakers, that they cannot be avoided, unleſs the weather be remarkably fine. The ſhips ſoon rot in the harbour.

bour. The ſailing of the ſquadrons is greatly retarded by the ice. There is no getting out but with an eaſterly wind; and the weſterly winds blow in thoſe latitudes the greateſt part of the ſummer. Another inconvenience is, that the dock-yards are at Peterſburgh, from whence the ſhips cannot get to Cronſtadt, without paſſing over a very dangerous flat that lies in the middle of the river.

If Peter I. had not had that partiality which great men, as well as others, have for their own plans, he might eaſily have been made ſenſible that Cronſtadt and Peterſburg were improper places for the naval forces of Ruſſia, and that it was in vain to expect that art ſhould remove every natural diſadvantage. He would have given the preference to Revel, which is much better calculated for this important purpoſe. Perhaps, more mature reflections would even have convinced him, that it was not yet the proper time for him to aſpire to this kind of power.

It is demonſtrated both by reaſon and experience, that a military navy muſt have for it's baſis a trading one. Ruſſia, of all the European nations, is that, which the abundance of it's naval ſtores and the bulk and quantity of it's productions, invites to a more active and more extenſive commerce. There was not however a ſingle trading veſſel in the whole empire, when the plan was adopted of ſupplying it with a fleet. The founder of an empire, who had been acquainted with the natural progreſs of things, would have firſt turned his views towards a com-

BOOK V.

mercial navy. This political arrangement was ſubverted; and the ſucceſſors of Peter I. have never deviated from this erroneous ſyſtem. None of them have thought of ſurmounting the obſtacles which, ariſing from a number of defective inſtitutions, have thwarted mercantile expeditions, by which good crews are formed. They have all confined themſelves to the ſyſtem of maintaining and multiplying ſquadrons, which cannot have either knowlege or experience. At preſent, this navy, the expence of which is uſeleſs, is compoſed upon the Baltic of thirty ſhips of the line, and twenty-one frigates; in the ſea of Azoph, it conſiſts of eleven ſhips of war, which ſcarce draw eleven feet of water; and at the mouth of the Danube, of ſeven or eight large barks, armed with guns of no inconſiderable diameter. It would be proper to diſband the greateſt part of theſe forces, 'till methods had been put in practice to render them uſeful.

Obſtacles which prevent the proſperity of Ruſſia. Meaſures that might be purſued to ſurmount them.

THE changes we have taken the liberty to ſuggeſt, are indiſpenſably neceſſary to render Ruſſia a flouriſhing ſtate, but this is not the only thing required. To inſure the continuance of her proſperity, ſome ſtability muſt be given to the order of the ſucceſſion. The crown of Ruſſia was long hereditary; Peter I. made it patrimonial; and it became, as it were, elective at the laſt revolution. But every nation wiſhes to know upon what right it's government is eſtabliſhed; and the claim that has the greateſt effect upon the people is birth-right. When this evident mark of ſucceſſion is removed from the eyes of

the multitude, univerſal revolt and diſſention prevail.

But it is not enough to give the people a ſovereign whom they cannot refuſe to acknowlege: that ſovereign muſt make them happy; and this can never be done in Ruſſia, till the form of government be changed.

Slavery, in whatever ſenſe we underſtand the word, is the ſtate into which the whole nation is fallen. Among the ſubjects of this empire, who are conſidered as free, there is not one of them who is morally certain of the ſafety of his perſon, of the permanent property of his fortune, or of liberty, which may not be taken from him, except in caſes previouſly determined by law.

Under ſuch a government, no tie can ſubſiſt between the members and their head. If he ſhould be always formidable to them, they are no leſs ſo to him. The ſtrength he exerts to oppreſs them, is no other than their own united ſtrength turned againſt themſelves. Deſpair, or a nobler ſentiment, may every inſtant turn it againſt him.

The reſpect due to the memory of ſo great a man as Peter I. ought not to prevent us from declaring that his talents did not enable him at one view to diſcover every requiſite neceſſary to form a well-conſtituted ſtate. He was naturally a man of genius, and had been inſpired with a love of glory. This paſſion made him active, patient, aſſiduous, indefatigable, and capable of conquering every difficulty which nature, ignorance, or cuſtom, could oppoſe, to prevent the ſucceſs of his enterprizes. With theſe virtues,

BOOK V.

and the foreign aids he called in, he ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing an army, a fleet, and a ſeaport. He made ſeveral regulations neceſſary for the proſecution of his great projects; but though he has been generally extolled as a lawgiver, he only enacted two or three laws, and thoſe bear the ſtamp of a ſavage diſpoſition. He never proceeded ſo far as to combine the happineſs of his people with his own perſonal greatneſs. After his noble inſtitutions, his people were as wretched as ever; and ſtill groaned under poverty, ſlavery, and oppreſſion. He never relaxed in any one inſtance his arbitrary power, but rather made it more oppreſſive; and bequeathed to his ſucceſſors that deteſtable and pernicious idea, that the ſubjects are nothing, and that the ſovereign is all.

SINCE his death, this miſchievous ſyſtem has been conſtantly purſued. It has been impoſſible to inculcate the idea that liberty is the birthright of all men; that every well-regulated ſociety ought to be directed to the general good; and that it is power obtained by unlawful means which has deprived the greateſt part of the globe of this natural advantage.

SUCH has been the opinion of Catherine II. As ſoon as this celebrated princeſs had aſſumed the reins of government, a report was ſpread on all ſides, that her deſign was to reign over free men. At the inſtant when her intentions began to tranſpire, upwards of a hundred thouſand vaſſals, were preparing a revolt againſt their maſters. Many of the lords, who reſided

upon their eſtates, were maſſacred. This commotion, the conſequences of which might have ſubverted the ſtate, made it evident, that it was neceſſary to tame the bears before their chains were broken; and that wholeſome laws, and a diffuſion of knowlege ought to precede liberty.

IMMEDIATELY, a ſyſtem of legiſlation was planned; and it was deſired that this code ſhould be approved of by the people themſelves, in order that they might reſpect and adhere to it as their own work. *My children*, ſaid the ſovereign to the deputies of her vaſt dominions, *conſider well with me the intereſts of the nation: let us unite in drawing up a body of laws, that may eſtabliſh public felicity upon a permanent baſis.*

CATHERINE attended afterwards to the forming of men; and was directed in her plan, by a bold and ſtriking truth, addreſſed to Peter I. That prince was flattering himſelf with the greateſt ſucceſs, from the return of the young men whom he had ſent to acquire knowlege, in the moſt enlightened countries of Europe; when his buffoon, who was attending to him, folded a piece of paper as hard as he poſſibly could, and preſenting it to him, challenged him to efface the marks of the fold. But if it were impoſſible to reform Ruſſia, in a barbarous ſtate; what hopes can there be of reforming it in a corrupt one? If it were impoſſible to give good morals to a people who had none; how can we expect to inſtill them into the minds of thoſe, who are tainted with bad ones? Theſe conſiderations have determined Ca-

BOOK V.

therine to leave the preſent generation to itſelf, and to give her whole attention to poſterity.

By her care, ſchools have been eſtabliſhed, in which the nobility of both ſexes are inſtructed in the uſeful ſciences, and in the agreeable arts. Wiſe men, who have ſeen theſe inſtitutions on the ſpot, have cenſured the frivoloufneſs and parade that prevails in them: but reflection will ſooner or later correct any defects they may have.

Other eſtabliſhments, perhaps ſtill more neceſſary, have been formed in favour of the people. There it is that young men, and young girls, receive, in ſeparate dwellings, during a term of fifteen years, all the kinds of inſtruction adapted to the employments or profeſſions they are to exerciſe. When the ſocial virtues have taken deep root in their hearts; when it has been impreſſed upon them, that honour is the moſt noble recompence of a virtuous mind, and that ſhame is it's moſt dreadful puniſhment, theſe pupils, born in a ſtate of ſlavery, will no longer have any maſter, and will become citizens in the utmoſt extent of the word. The good principles in which they have been educated, will diffuſe themſelves, in proceſs of time, from the center of the empire to the moſt remote provinces; and with the morals which muſt neceſſarily reſult from them, a well-regulated liberty will be extended, which muſt inſure the felicity of the nation, under the eaſy reſtraint of the laws.

To accelerate the progreſs, always too ſlow, of a wiſe legiſlation, and a good education, it would perhaps

perhaps be proper to chuſe out one of the moſt fertile provinces of the empire, to erect habitations there, to ſupply them with all the implements of huſbandry, and to allot a portion of land to each houſe. It would then be adviſeable to invite free men from civilized countries, to give them the entire property of the houſes and lands prepared for them, to ſecure to them a ſubſiſtence for three years, and to have them governed by a chief who ſhould have no property in the country. A toleration ſhould be granted to all religions, and conſequently private and domeſtic worſhip ſhould be allowed, but no public form of worſhip ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

From hence the ſeeds of libérty would ſpread all over the empire: the adjacent countries would ſee the happineſs of theſe coloniſts, and wiſh to be as happy as they. Were I to be caſt among ſavages, I would not bid them build huts to ſhelter them from the inclemency of the weather; they would only laugh at me; but I would build one myſelf. When the ſevere ſeaſon came on, I ſhould enjoy the benefit of my foreſight: the ſavage would ſee it, and next year he would imitate me. It is the ſame thing with an enſlaved nation; we are not to bid them be free; but we are to lay before their eyes the ſweets of liberty, and they will wiſh for them.

I would by no means impoſe upon my coloniſts the burden of the firſt expences I had incurred on their account; much leſs would I entail the pretended debt upon their offspring. This would be falſe and inhuman policy. Is not

BOOK V.

a ſtate ſufficiently rewarded by a man of twenty, twenty-five, or thirty years of age, who voluntarily devotes his perſon, his ſtrength, his talents, and his life, to the ſervice of the public? Muſt he pay a rent likewiſe for the preſent he makes? When he becomes opulent, he may be conſidered as a ſubject, but not till the third or fourth generation, if the project be meant to ſucceed, and if the people can be brought to that condition, the advantages of which they have had time to be acquainted with.

In this new arrangement, where the intereſts of the monarch will be blended with thoſe of the ſubject, in order to ſtrengthen Ruſſia, ſhe muſt aim leſs at glory, and ſacrifice the influence ſhe has aſſumed over the general affairs of Europe. Peterſburgh, which has improperly been made a capital, muſt be reduced to a mere commercial ſtaple; and the ſeat of government transferred to the heart of the empire. It is from ſuch a center of dominion, that a wiſe ſovereign, acquainted with the wants and reſources of his people, will effectually labour to unite the detached parts of that large empire. From the ſuppreſſion of every kind of ſlavery will ſpring up a middle ſtate among the people, without which, neither arts, manners, nor learning, ever exiſted in any nation.

Till this ſhall be accompliſhed, the court of Ruſſia will endeavour in vain to enlighten the nation, by inviting famous men from all countries. Thoſe exotics will periſh there, as foreign plants do in our green-houſes. In vain will they erect ſchools

and

and academies at Peterſburgh; in vain will they ſend pupils to Paris and to Rome, to be trained up under the beſt maſters. Thoſe young men, on their return from their travels, will be forced to neglect their talents, and embrace an inferior ſtation to procure a ſubſiſtence. In all undertakings, much depends upon the firſt ſteps we take; and the firſt ſtep is certainly to encourage mechanic arts, and the lower claſſes of men. If we learn to till the ground, to dreſs ſkins, to manufacture our wool, we ſhall ſoon ſee wealthy families ſpring up. From theſe will ariſe children, who, not chuſing to follow the laborious profeſſions of their fathers, will begin to think, to converſe, to write, and to imitate nature; and then we ſhall have philoſophers, orators, poets, painters, and ſtatuaries. Their productions will be ſought after by rich men, and they will purchaſe them. As long as men are in want, they will work, and continue their labour till their wants are ſatisfied. Then they become indolent, and unable to employ their time; and thus the finer arts are in all places the offspring of genius and indolence, for men fly to them when they have no other reſources.

If we attend to the progreſs of ſociety, we ſhall find huſbandmen plundered by robbers; theſe huſbandmen ſelect a few from among themſelves to oppoſe the robbers, and thus they commence ſoldiers. While ſome are reaping, and the reſt are upon guard, ſome perſons looking on ſay to the labourers and ſoldiers; 'You ſeem to be hard 'at work; if you that are huſbandmen will feed 'us,

BOOK V.

'us, and you that are ſoldiers will defend us, we will 'beguile your labours with our ſongs and dances.' Hence the origin of the troubadour, or bard, and of the man of ſcience. In proceſs of time, the latter is ſometimes joined with the chief againſt the people, and ſings the praiſes of tyranny; ſometimes with the people againſt the tyrant, and then he ſings the praiſes of liberty. Whichever part he takes, he becomes a citizen of conſequence.

Let us attend to the uſual progreſs of nature, and indeed it would be in vain to depart from it. We ſhall find all our efforts ineffectual, and every thing tending to decay around us; we ſhall be nearly in the ſame barbarous ſtate, from which we endeavoured to extricate ourſelves: nor ſhall we be able to effect this, till circumſtances ſhall give riſe to an indigenous policy on our own ſoil, the progreſs of which can at moſt only be accelerated by foreign aſſiſtance. This is all we can reaſonably expect, and we muſt continue to cultivate our land.

In this we ſhall find another advantage, which is, that the arts and ſciences of our own growth will gradually advance towards perfection, and we ſhall be originals; whereas, if we copy foreign models, we ſhall be ignorant of the cauſe of their perfection, and we ſhall never be any thing more than imperfect imitators.

The picture we have here draw'n of Ruſſia may be thought to be an improper digreſſion; but, perhaps, this is the time to form a right eſtimate of a power, which, for ſome years paſt, has

has acted so conspicuous and distinguished a part. Let us now inquire into the connections other European nations have formed with China.

Trade of China with the neighbouring countries.

INDUSTRY prevails among the Chinese more than among any other people in the world. In a country too populous, notwithstanding the plenty of productions, the expectation of approaching dearth, makes all the citizens industrious, active, and restless. They must necessarily be interested, mean, false, and deceitful.

THIS rapacious disposition made the Chinese renounce the use of gold and silver coin in their inland trade. They were forced to this by the great increase of coiners, and were reduced to the necessity of using only copper money.

COPPER becoming scarce, though history has not informed us by what means, those shells were afterwards brought into use, so well know'n by the name of cowries. The government, having observed that the people grew dissatisfied with so brittle a commodity in lieu of coin, ordered that all copper utensils in the empire should be brought to the mint. This ill-judged expedient proving insufficient to answer the demands of the public, about four hundred temples of the god Fo were ordered to be demolished, and all his idols melted down. After this, the court paid the magistrates and the army, partly in copper, and partly in paper currency. The people were so exasperated at these dangerous innovations, that the government was obliged to drop them. From that time, which was three hundred years ago, copper coin is the only legal money.

NOTWITH-

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſelf-intereſted diſpoſition of the Chineſe, their foreign connections were for a long time inconſiderable. Their diſtant behaviour with other people, proceeded from the contempt they had for them. At length, however, they grew deſirous of frequenting the neighbouring ports; and the Tartar government, leſs ſolicitous to preſerve the antient manners than the former government had been, encouraged this mode of increaſing the wealth of the nation. Voyages were openly undertaken, which before were only tolerated by the intereſted governors of the maritime provinces. A people ſo famed for their wiſdom could not fail of meeting with a favourable reception wherever they went. They took advantage of the high opinion other nations entertained of their taſte, to recommend the commodities they had to diſpoſe of; and their activity exerted itſelf on the continent as well as by ſea.

CHINA at preſent trades with Corea, which is ſuppoſed to have been originally peopled with Tartars. It has certainly often been conquered by them, and has been ſometimes ſubject to, ſometimes independent of, the Chineſe; to whom it now pays tribute. Here they carry China ware, tea, and ſilks; and in return bring home hemp and cotton, and an ordinary ſort of ginſeng.

THE Tartars, who may be conſidered as foreigners, purchaſe of the Chineſe woollen ſtuffs, rice, tea, and tobacco, for which they give them ſheep, oxen, furs, and eſpecially ginſeng. This plant

plant grows upon the confines of Tartary, near the great wall. It is alſo found in Canada. It's root is a turnip, ſometimes ſingle, ſometimes divided into two. It has then ſome reſemblance to the inferior parts of a man, from whence it has acquired the name of ginſeng in China, and that of garentoguen among the Iroquois.

It's ſtem, which is renewed every year, leaves, as it falls off, an impreſſion upon the neck of the root, ſo that the age of the plant is know'n by the number of theſe impreſſions, and it's value increaſes in proportion to it's age. This ſtem, which is low, ſingle, and furniſhed only with two or three leaves, divided into five ſmaller ones, terminates in a ſmall umbel of flowers. The flowers are compoſed of five petals and as many ſtamina, ſupported upon a piſtil, which being covered with it's calix, becomes a ſmall fleſhy fruit, filled with two or three little ſeeds. Some of the flowers produce no fruit.

The virtues of the ginſeng root are many; but it is generally allowed to be a ſtrengthener of the ſtomach, and a purifier of the blood. It's tranſparency is given to it by the ſame proceſs nearly as the Orientaliſts employ for the ſalop. This prepared ginſeng is in ſuch high eſtimation among the Chineſe, that they never find it too dear.

The government ſends out ten thouſand Tartar ſoldiers every year to gather this plant; and every one is obliged to bring home two ounces of the beſt ginſeng gratis, and for the reſt they are paid it's weight in ſilver. Private perſons are not allowed to gather it. This odious prohibition does

BOOK V.

does not prevent them. If they did not break this unjuſt law, they would not be able to pay for the commodities they buy in the empire, and conſequently muſt ſubmit to the want of them.

We have already taken notice of the trade of China with the Ruſſians. It will become conſiderable, if the two governments ſhould ever diſcontinue to oppreſs their merchants.

The trade which the empire has opened with the inhabitants of the Leſs Bucharia, conſiſts only in exchanging it's tea, tobacco, and woollen cloth, for the gold duſt theſe people find in their torrents, or in their rivers. Theſe tranſactions, which are at preſent inconſiderable, will not receive any great increaſe, 'till theſe barbarians have been inſtructed in the art of working the mines, with which their mountains abound.

China is ſeparated from the Mogul dominions, and from other parts of India, by moving ſands, mountains, or by rocks, heaped upon one another, which render every communication with theſe opulent regions impracticable. Accordingly, they add nothing to the trifling commerce which this nation carries on annually by land. That which the ſea opens to them is more conſiderable.

The empire ſcarce truſts any thing to the ocean except tea, ſilks, and china. At Japan theſe articles are paid for with gold and copper; at the Philippine iſlands, with piaſtres; at Batavia, with ſpices; at Siam, with woods for dying, and with varniſh; at Tonquin, with coarſe ſilks; and at Cochin-

Cochinchina, with gold and ſugar. The returns do not exceed five-and-thirty, or forty millions of livres*, although the Chineſe double their capitals in this trade. Their agents or partners in moſt of the markets they frequent, are the deſcendents of ſuch of their own countrymen as refuſed to ſubmit to the yoke of the Tartars.

THESE connections, which on one ſide terminate at Japan, and on the other at the Straits of Malacca and of Sunda, would probably have been extended, if the Chineſe ſhip-builders had been leſs attached to their old cuſtoms, and had condeſcended to receive inſtruction from the Europeans.

IT might readily be imagined, that this contempt of one people for the knowlege of another, was one of the principal characteriſtics of barbariſm, or even, perhaps, of the ſavage ſtate. It is, however, alſo the vice of a civilized nation. A fooliſh pride perſuades them that they know every thing; or, that what they are ignorant of is not worth the trouble of learning. The nation makes no improvement in the ſciences, and it's arts remain in that ſtate of mediocrity from whence they will never emerge, unleſs by ſome fortuitous event, which time either may, or may not bring about. The country and a cloiſter are then in a ſimilar ſituation; and this is a very exact repreſentation of China, which is ſurrounded on all ſides by light that cannot penetrate into it; as if there were no mode of expell-

* From 1,458,333l. 6s. 8d. to 1,666,666l. 13s. 4d.

ing

BOOK V.

ing ignorance from it, without introducing corruption. In what ſtate would the European nations be, if, infected with vanity, concealed under the maſk of ſome prejudice, they had not reciprocally enlightened each other? The one is indebted to the other for the ſeeds of liberty; and they are both of them indebted to a third, for having taught them the true principles of commerce. This kind of exchange is of infinitely greater conſequence to their happineſs, than that of their productions.

The trade of the Europeans with China.

THE firſt Europeans, whom their reſtleſs diſpoſitions impelled towards the coaſts of China, were admitted indiſcriminately into all the ports. Their extreme familiarity with the women, their haughtineſs with the men, and repeated acts of inſult and indiſcretion, ſoon deprived them of that privilege; and now they are only ſuffered to put in at Canton, the ſouthernmoſt harbour of theſe extenſive coaſts.

THEIR ſhips at firſt went up as far as the walls of this celebrated city, ſituated at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from the mouth of the Tigris. By degrees the harbour was choaked up, ſo as to give no more than twelve or thirteen feet of water. Then our ſhips, which had conſtantly been increaſing in ſize, were obliged to ſtop at Hoanpou, three miles diſtant from the city. It is a tolerable harbour, formed by two ſmall iſlands. The French, from ſome particular circumſtances, obtained the liberty, in 1745, of fixing their magazines in the port of Wampou, which is healthy and populous; but the rival nations have always been

been forced to tranſact their affairs at the other port, which is entirely deſert, and particularly unwholeſome after the rice has been cut.

DURING the five or ſix months that the ſhips crews are wearying themſelves or periſhing at Hoang-pou, the agents are making their ſales and purchaſes at Canton. When theſe foreigners firſt frequented this great mart, they were allowed all the liberty that was conſiſtent with the maintaining of the laws. They ſoon grew tired of the circumſpection which is requiſite under a government ſo much addicted to ceremony. To puniſh them for their imprudence, they were prohibited from having any immediate acceſs to the perſon in whom the public authority was veſted, and they were all obliged to live together in one quarter of the city. The magiſtrate would not allow any other place of reſidence to any, except ſuch as could procure a creditable perſon to be ſecurity for their good behaviour. Theſe reſtrictions were ſtill increaſed in 1760. The court, being informed by the Engliſh, of the ſhameful oppreſſions of it's delegates, ſent commiſſaries from Pekin, who ſuffered themſelves to be bribed by the parties accuſed. Upon the report made by theſe corrupt men, all the Europeans were confined in a few houſes, where they could only treat with a company that was in poſſeſſion of an excluſive charter. The power of this monopoly has been ſince diminiſhed, but the other reſtraints ſtill continue the ſame.

THESE mortifications have not induced us to relinquiſh the trade to China. We continue to

BOOK V.

get from thence tea, china, raw ſilk, manufactured ſilks, varniſh, paper, rhubarb, and ſome other articles of leſs conſequence.

Account of the knowlege we have acquired concerning the tea which the Europeans purchaſe at China.

THE tea-plant is a ſhrub which has the appearance of growing wild. It is five or ſix feet high, and is common at China and in Japan. It delights in craggy places; and is moſt frequently found upon the ſlope of hills and along the ſide of rivers. The Chineſe ſow whole fields with it; the Japaneſe are ſatisfied with planting it round the borders of their grounds. It arrives at it's full growth only at the end of ſeven years. The ſtem is then cut, in order to obtain freſh ſhoots, each of which bears nearly as many leaves as a whole ſhrub.

IT'S leaves, which are the the only valuable part of the plant, are alternate, oval, pointed, ſmooth, dentated in their circumference, and of a deep green colour. The youngeſt are tender and thin. They acquire more firmneſs and ſubſtance with age. At the baſis of them, diſtinct flowers make their appearance, which have a calix with five or ſix diviſions, as many white petals, often united at the bottom, and a great number of ſtamina placed round a piſtil. This is changed into a rounded ligneous ſhell, with three ridges, and three cells, each filled with one ſpherical ſeed, or with ſeveral angular ſeeds.

BESIDE this tea, know'n by the name of Bohea, we may diſtinguiſh two other kinds, very ſtrongly characteriſed. One is the green tea, the flower of which is compoſed of nine petals; the other the red tea, which has a large flower with

ſix red petals, and furniſhed in it's center with a cluſter of ſtamina, united at their baſe. It is not know'n whether there are more ſpecies of this plant exiſting. Of the three that have been mentioned, the firſt is the moſt common. The Bohea tea is cultivated in moſt provinces of China, but is not equally good every where; though care be always taken to place it in a ſouthern aſpect and in valleys. The tea that grows in ſtony ground is far preferable to that which grows in a light ſoil, but the worſt ſort is that which is produced in a clayiſh ground. From hence ariſe the varieties that have improperly been called diſtinct ſpecies.

THE different degree of perfection in tea does not ariſe merely from the difference of ſoil; but chiefly from the ſeaſon in which it is gathered.

THE firſt time of gathering is about the end of February. The leaves then are ſmall, tender, and delicate; and this is the ſort that is called *ficki-tsjaa*, or Imperial tea, becauſe it is chiefly reſerved for the uſe of the court and people of rank. The ſecond time of gathering it is at the beginning of April; the leaves are then larger and more ſpread, but of inferior quality to the firſt. Theſe yeild the *toots-jaa*, or Chineſe tea, which the merchants diſtinguiſh into three ſorts. Laſtly, the leaves gathered in the month of June, and which are then arrived at their full growth, yeild the *bants-jaa*, or coarſe tea, which is kept for the common people.

A THIRD method of multiplying the various kinds of tea conſiſts in the different manner of

preparing it. The Japaneſe, according to the account of Koempfer, have buildings on purpoſe, which contain a-ſeries of ſmall furnaces, each of them covered with a plate of iron or copper. When this is heated, it is ſpread over with leaves, which have been previouſly dipt in hot water, or expoſed to it's vapour. They are ſtirred about briſkly, 'till they have acquired a ſufficient degree of heat. They are afterwards throw'n upon mats, and rubbed between the hands. This proceſs, when repeated two or three times, abſorbs all the moiſture. At the expiration of two or three months, it is renewed again, eſpecially for the imperial tea, which, as it is to be uſed in powder, requires a more complete deſiccation. This precious kind of tea is kept in China jars; that of an inferior quality in earthen pots, and the coarſeſt of all in baſkets of ſtraw. The preparation of this laſt, does not require ſo much care. It is dried at a leſs expence in the open air. Beſide theſe teas, there are others that are brought in cakes, in balls, or in little parcels tied round with ſilk. Extracts are alſo made from them.

The practice of the Chineſe in the cultivation, gathering, and preparation of their tea, is leſs know'n: but it does not appear to be very different from that uſed by the Japaneſe. It has been ſaid that they added to their tea ſome vegetable dye. It's green colour has likewiſe been attributed, but without foundation, to a mixture of copperas, or to the effect of the plate of copper upon which the leaf has been dried.

TEA is the common drink of the Chineſe; and was not introduced among them through vain caprice. Almoſt throughout the empire, the water is unwholeſome and nauſeous. Of all the methods that were tried to improve it, none ſucceeded ſo well as tea. Upon trial it was thought to be endued with other virtues, and was extolled as an excellent diſſolvent, a purifier of the blood, a ſtrengthener of the head and ſtomach, and a promoter of digeſtion and perſpiration.

THE high opinion which the Europeans, who firſt went into China, conceived of it's inhabitants, induced them to adopt the high, though, perhaps exaggerated opinion, the Chineſe had of tea. They communicated their enthuſiaſm to us; and this enthuſiaſm has diffuſed itſelf with continual increaſe through the North of Europe and of America, in countries where the air is thick and loaded with vapours.

WHATEVER may be the influence of prejudice in general, yet it muſt be allowed, that tea produces ſome good effects in thoſe countries where the uſe of it is univerſally adopted: but theſe effects cannot be ſo great any where as in China. We know the Chineſe reſerve the beſt tea for themſelves, and adulterate that intended for exportation, by mixing with it other leaves, which reſemble thoſe of tea in ſhape, but may not have the ſame properties: We know too, that ſince the exportation has been ſo great, they are not ſo circumſpect in the choice of the ſoil, nor ſo careful in the preparing of the tea. Our manner of

BOOK V.

uſing it may likewiſe contribute to leſſen it's virtues.

We drink it too hot and too ſtrong; we always mix it with a great deal of ſugar, frequently with perfumes, and ſometimes with pernicious liquors. Beſide all this, it's being conveyed ſo far by ſea is alone ſufficient to exhauſt moſt of it's ſalubrious ſalts.

We ſhall never be able to determine exactly the virtues of tea, 'till it has been naturalized in our own climates. We began to deſpair of ſucceſs, though the experiments had been only made with ſeeds, which being of a very oily nature, are apt to grow rancid. At length, Mr. Linnæus, the moſt celebrated botaniſt in Europe, received this ſhrub in it's growing ſtate, and contrived to preſerve it out of a green-houſe, even in Sweden. Some plants have been ſince brought into Great Britain, where they live, flower, and thrive in the open air. France has alſo procured ſome; and they will probably ſucceed in the ſouthern parts of that kingdom. It will be a very great advantage to us, if we can cultivate a plant, which can never ſuffer ſo much by change of ſoil, as by growing muſty in the long voyage it muſt undergo in being brought from abroad. It is not long ſince we had as little proſpect of attaining to the art of making porcelain.

Origin, nature, and properties of the porcelain which the Europeans purchaſe in China.

Some years ago there were in the collection of Count Caylus two or three little fragments of a vaſe ſuppoſed to be Egyptian, which being carefully analyſed proved to be unglazed porcelain.

If

If that learned man be not in an error, or have not been misinformed, the making of porcelain was know'n in the flourishing days of ancient Egypt. But, without some more authentic monuments than the allegation of a single fact, we must not deprive China of this invention, where the art has been know'n for a longer time than we can trace.

Egypt is supposed by many to have the pre-eminence in point of antiquity, both in regard to it's foundation, and to laws, sciences, and arts in general, though perhaps China may have as good a claim to it. Nor can it be certainly determined, whether these two empires are not equally ancient, and have not received all their social institutions from a people inhabiting the vast region that divides them: whether the savage inhabitants of the great mountains of Asia, after wandering about for many ages on the continent that forms the center of our hemisphere, have not insensibly dispersed themselves towards the coasts of the seas that surround it, and formed themselves into separate nations in China, India, Persia, and Egypt: or, whether the successive floods, which may have happened in that part of the world, may not have inclosed and confined them to those regions full of mountains and deserts. These conjectures are not foreign to the history of commerce, which in future times must greatly tend to illustrate the general history of the human race, of the several settlements they have formed, of their opinions, and inventions of every kind.

BOOK V.

THE art of making porcelain is, if not one of the moſt wonderful, at leaſt one of the moſt pleaſing that men have ever diſcovered; it is the neatneſs of luxury, which is preferable to it's magnificence.

PORCELAIN is an earthen ware of the moſt perfect kind. It varies in colour, texture, and tranſparency. Tranſparency, indeed, is not eſſential to it, for there is a great deal of very fine porcelain which has not this quality.

IT is uſually covered with white or coloured varniſh. This varniſh is merely a layer of melted glaſs, which muſt never be completely tranſparent. This is ſtiled glazed porcelain, and is properly what we call china; the unglazed is diſtinguiſhed by the name of porcelain biſcuit. This is intrinſically as good as the other, but is neither ſo neat, ſo bright, nor ſo beautiful.

THE word earthen-ware is well adapted to porcelain, becauſe, as all other earthen-ware, the ſubſtance of it is pure earth, without any alteration from art but the mere diviſion of it's parts. No metallic or ſaline ſubſtance whatever muſt enter into it's compoſition, not even in the glazing, which muſt be made of ſubſtances nearly, if not altogether, as ſimple.

THE beſt porcelain, and commonly the cloſeſt, is that which is made of the ſimpleſt materials, ſuch as a vitrifiable ſtone, and a pure and white clay. On this laſt ſubſtance depend the cloſeneſs and compactneſs of porcelain, and indeed of earthen-ware in general.

THE

THE connoiſſeurs divide the china that comes from Aſia into ſix claſſes; the trouted china, the old white, the Japan, the Chineſe, the Chineſe japan, and the Indian. Theſe ſeveral appellations rather denote a difference that ſtrikes the eye than a real diſtinction.

THE trouted china, which no doubt is called ſo from the reſemblance it bears to the ſcales of a trout, ſeems to be the moſt ancient, and favours moſt of the infancy of the art. It has two imperfections. The paſte is always very brown, and the ſurface appears full of cracks. Theſe cracks are not only in the glazing, but in the porcelain itſelf; and therefore this ſort has but a ſmall degree of tranſparency, does not ſound well, is very brittle, and bears the fire better than any other. To hide theſe cracks, it is painted with a variety of colours: in this kind of ornament conſiſts it's only value. The facility with which Count Lauragais has imitated it, has convinced us that it is only an imperfect ſort of porcelain.

THE old white is certainly very beautiful, whether we conſider only the glazing, or examine the biſcuit. This is very valuable porcelain, but very ſcarce, and but little uſed. The paſte of it ſeems to be extremely ſhort, and fit only for ſmall vaſes, figures, and other ornamental china. It is ſold in trade for Japan, though it is certain that ſome very fine of the ſame kind is made in China. It is of two different hues; the one a perfect cream-colour, the other a blueiſh white, which makes it look more tranſparent. The glazing ſeems to be more

BOOK V.

more incorporated into this laſt. This ſort has been attempted at St. Cloud, and ſome pieces have been produced that looked very beautiful; but thoſe who have narrowly examined them, have ſaid they were no better than frit or lead, and would not bear a compariſon.

The Japan is not ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed as moſt people imagine from the fineſt of the ſort made in China. A connoiſſeur, whom we have conſulted, pretends, that in general the glazing of the true Japan is whiter, and has leſs of the blueiſh caſt than the porcelain of China; that the ornaments are laid on with leſs profuſion, that the blue is brighter, and the patterns and flowers not ſo whimſical, and more cloſely copied from nature. His opinion ſeems to be confirmed by the teſtimony of ſome writers, who tell us, that the Chineſe who trade to Japan bring home ſome pieces of china that make more ſhow than their own, but are not ſo ſolid; and that they ſerve to ornament their apartments, but that they never uſe them, becauſe they will not bear the fire well. All china glazed with coloured varniſh, whether ſea-green, blueiſh, or purple, he believes to be Chineſe. All the Japan brought into Europe comes from the Dutch, who are the only Europeans that are ſuffered to come into that empire. Poſſibly they may have choſen it out of the porcelains brought there every year by the Chineſe, or they may have purchaſed it at Canton. In either caſe, the diſtinction between the porcelain of Japan and that of China would not be founded

on

on fact, but merely on prejudice. From this opinion it is plain, that what is ſold here for Japan is very fine china.

THERE is leſs doubt about what we call porcelain of China. The glazing has a bluer caſt than that of Japan, is more highly coloured, and the patterns are more whimſical. The paſte is in general whiter and more compact; the grain finer and cloſer, and the china thinner. Among the ſeveral ſorts made in China, there is one that is very ancient; it is painted of a deep blue, a beautiful red, or a green like verdigreaſe, and is very coarſe, very thick, and very heavy. Some of this is trouted, and the grain is often dry and brown. That which is not trouted has a clear ſound, but both want tranſparency. It is ſold for old china, and the fineſt pieces are ſuppoſed to come from Japan. It was originally a better ſort of earthen-ware, rather than a true porcelain; time and experience may have improved it. It is grow'n more tranſparent, and the colours being more carefully laid on, look brighter. The eſſential difference between this and other china is, that this is made of a ſhorter paſte, and is very hard and ſolid. The pieces of this china have always at the bottom the marks of three or four ſupporters, which were put to prevent it's giving way in baking. By this contrivance, the Chineſe have ſucceeded in making very large pieces of porcelain. The china that is not of this ſort, and which is called modern china, is of a longer paſte and finer grain, higher glazed, whiter, and clearer. It ſeldom has the marks of the ſupporters, and it's

BOOK V.

it's tranſparency has nothing glaſſy in it. All that is made with this paſte is eaſily turned, ſo that it is viſible the workman's hand is glided over it, as over a fine ſmooth clay. There is an infinite variety of this ſort of china, both as to form, colouring, workmanſhip, and price.

A FIFTH ſort is what we call Chineſe japan, becauſe it unites the ornaments of the porcelain, which is thought to come from Japan, with thoſe that are more in the Chineſe taſte. Among this kind of porcelain, there is ſome that is ornamented with a very fine blue, with white ſcrolls. The glazing of this kind is remarkable for being a true white enamel, whereas that of the other ſorts is half tranſparent: for the Chineſe glazing is never entirely ſo.

THE colours in general are laid on in the ſame manner, both on the true china and the imitations of it. The firſt and moſt laſting of them is the blue that is extracted from ſmalt, which is nothing more than the calx of cobalt. This colour is commonly laid on before the pieces are either glazed or baked, ſo that the glazing that is put on afterwards ſerves as a diſſolvent. All the other colours, and even the blue that enters into the compoſition on the pallet, are laid on over the glazing, and muſt firſt be mixed up and ground with a ſaline ſubſtance or calx of lead, that favours their ingreſs into the glazing. It is rather a common thing for the Chineſe to colour the whole of the glazing; the colour is then laid on neither above nor below it, but is incorporated into the glazing itſelf. Some very extraordinary fanciful

fanciful ornaments are made in this manner. In whatever way the colours are applied, they are commonly extracted from cobalt, gold, iron, mineral earths, and copper. That which is extracted from copper is a very delicate colour, and requires great care in the preparation.

All the ſorts of porcelain we have deſcribed are made at King-to-chin, an immenſe town in the province of Kiamſi. This manufacture employs five hundred furnaces and a million of men. It has been attempted to be made at Pekin and other places of the empire; but it has not ſucceeded any where, thoûgh the ſame workmen have been employed, and the ſame materials made uſe of; ſo that this branch of induſtry is entirely given up, except in the neighbourhood of Canton, where the ſort of porcelain is made that is know'n amongſt us by the name of India china. The paſte of it is long and yielding; but in general the colours, eſpecially the blue, and the red of iron, are far inferior to what comes from Japan and the interior parts of China. All the colours, except the blue, ſtand up in lumps, and are very badly laid on. This is the only china that has purple, which has given riſe to that abſurd notion of it's being painted in Holland. Moſt of the cups, plates, and other veſſels, which our merchants bring home, are of this manufacture, which is leſs eſteemed in China than our delft is in Europe.

Attempts have been made to introduce this art into Europe. It has ſucceeded beſt in Saxony. The porcelain that comes from this country is real

BOOK V.

real porcelain, and probably made with very ſimple materials, though prepared and mixed with more art than in Aſia. This curious preparation, together with the ſcarcity of the materials, is no doubt the circumſtance that makes the Dreſden porcelain ſo dear. As there is but one ſort of paſte that comes from that manufacture, it has been ſurmiſed, and not without ſome degree of probability, that the Saxons were only in poſſeſſion of their own ſecret, and by no means of the art of making china. This ſuſpicion ſeems to be confirmed, by the great affinity there is between the Saxon and other German porcelain, which ſeems to be made upon the ſame principle.

However this be, it is certain no porcelain is higher glazed, ſmoother, better ſhaped, more pleaſing to the eye, or more ſolid and durable. It will reſiſt a fierce fire much longer than many of the ſorts made in China. The colours are finely diſpoſed, and executed in a maſterly manner; none are ſo well adapted to the glazing; they are blended with great exactneſs; they are bright, without being ſhaded and glazed, like thoſe of moſt of the porcelain made at Sèvre.

The mention of this place reminds us that we muſt take notice of the porcelain made in France. This, like the Engliſh, is only made with frit; that is, with ſtones that are not fuſible in themſelves, but receive a beginning of fuſion from the mixture of a greater or leſs quantity of ſalt; and accordingly it is more glaſſy, of a looſer texture, and more brittle than any other. That of Sèvre, which

which is by far the worſt of all, and always looks yellowiſh and dirty, which betrays the lead they put into the glazing, has no other merit than what it derives from the excellence of the artiſts that are employed for the patterns and penciling. Theſe great maſters have diſplayed ſo much taſte in the execution of ſome of the pieces, that they will be the admiration of poſterity; but in itſelf this ware will never be more than an object of taſte, luxury, and expence. The ſupporters will always be a principal cauſe of it's dearneſs.

All porcelain, when it receives the laſt effect of the fire, is actually in a ſtate that has a tendency to fuſion, is ſoft and pliable, and might be worked like red-hot iron. There is none of it that will not bend and give way when it is in that ſtate. If the pieces, when they are turned, are thicker, or project more on one ſide than another, the ſtrongeſt will infallibly bear away the weakeſt; they will warp to that ſide, and the piece is ſpoiled. This inconvenience is prevented, by propping it up with bits of porcelain made of the ſame paſte, of different ſhapes, which are applied under, or to the parts that project, and are moſt in danger of being warped. As all porcelain ſhrinks in baking, the props muſt alſo be made of ſuch materials as will yield in the ſame degree exactly as the paſte they are intended to ſupport. As the different paſtes do not ſhrink equally, it follows that the props muſt be made of the ſame paſte as the piece they ſupport.

The ſofter the china is, and the more inclining to vitrification, the more it requires to be propped up.

BOOK V.

up. This is the great fault of the Sèvre china; the paſte is very coſtly, and frequently more of it is waſted in props, than is employed in making the piece itſelf. The neceſſity of this expenſive method produces another inconvenience. The glazing cannot be baked at the ſame time as the porcelain, which therefore muſt twice undergo the heat of the furnace. The porcelain made in China, and the beſt imitations of it, being of a ſtiffer paſte, and leſs ſuſceptible of vitrification, ſeldom want any props, and are baked ready glazed. They therefore conſume much leſs paſte, are ſeldom ſpoiled, and require leſs time, as well as leſs fire and trouble.

Some writers have urged, in favour of the ſuperiority of Aſiatic china, that it reſiſts fire better than our's; that all European china will melt in that of Saxony, but that the Dreſden itſelf will melt in the foreign china. This aſſertion is entirely erroneous, if taken in it's full extent. Few porcelains of China will ſtand the fire ſo well as the Dreſden; they ſpoil and bubble in the ſame degree of fire which ſerves to bake that made by Count Lauragais; but this is a circumſtance of ſo little conſequence, that it ſcarce deſerves attention. Porcelain is not intended to return into the furnace when once it is taken out, nor is it deſigned to bear the action of an intenſe fire.

It is in point of ſolidity that the foreign porcelain truly excels that of Europe; it is by the property it has of heating quicker and with leſs riſque, and of bearing, without danger of being broken, the ſudden effect of cold or boiling hot

water;

water; by the facility with which it is moulded and baked, which is an ineſtimable advantage, as pieces of all ſizes can be made with great eaſe, as it can be baked without any riſque, be ſold at a lower price, be of more general uſe, and conſequently become the object of a more extenſive trade.

ANOTHER great advantage of the India porcelain is, that the ſame paſte is very uſeful for making crucibles, and a variety of ſuch veſſels which are conſtantly uſed in the other arts. They not only bear the fire for a longer time, but communicate nothing of their ſubſtance to what is fuſed in them. Their ſubſtance is ſo pure, white, compact, and hard, that it can ſcarce be melted, and acquires no kind of tinge.

FRANCE is at the eve of enjoying all theſe advantages. It is certain that Count Lauragais, who has long been in ſearch of the ſecret of the Chineſe, has at laſt made ſome china that is very like it. His materials have the ſame properties, and if they are not exactly the ſame, at leaſt they are a ſpecies of the ſame kind. Like the Chineſe, he can make his paſte long or ſhort, and follow either his own or ſome other proceſs. His porcelain is not inferior to that of the Chineſe in point of pliableneſs, and is ſuperior to it in point of glazing; perhaps too in the facility with which it takes the colours. If it can be improved to ſuch a degree as to have as fine and as white a grain, we may diſpenſe with the porcelain of China.

BOOK V.

WHILE the diſcovery of Count Lauragais, from obſtacles with which we are unacquainted, was confined to mere experiment, the manufactory of Sèvre was gradually leaving off it's frit, and ſubſtituting to it another kind of paſte, made from an extremely white earth, found in the province of Limoges. This new porcelain is much more ſolid than the former; it's appearance is more beautiful, it's grain more pleaſing to the eye, and it's tranſparency leſs vitreous. It's glazing is often much finer. This manufacture, by changing it's paſte, partakes more of the nature of real porcelain, and the proceſs of making it is more ſimple.

NEVERTHELESS, as the earth made uſe of at Sèvre is very ſhort, and as the argillaceous part, which is the only one that can impart coheſion to it, can make it eaſy to work, and give it ſolidity in baking, enters little into the compoſition of this earth, the pieces that are produced from this manufacture will of courſe always bear a high price. Count Lauragais's paſte would not be ſubject to this inconvenience; for though it be not ſo white, yet, under the hand of the artiſt, it will bend, like wax, at pleaſure.

THE brilliancy of the Limoges earth has delighted every one. Paris, and it's diſtricts, have been immediately filled with porcelain ovens. All theſe manufactures have got their materials from this province, and they have been found of the ſame kind; but more or leſs white, and more or leſs fuſible, according to the part of the very

very extenſive layer from which they have been taken. BOOK V.

When M. Turgot was intendant of Limoges, he eſtabliſhed a manufactory of porcelain upon a very well-concerted plan. If this manufacture, which is upon the ſpot, and which has the advantage over all the reſt of ſelecting it's materials, and in cheapneſs of workmanſhip, ſhould be conducted with activity and ſkill, it muſt put an end to all competition. That of Sèvre alone will ſtill ſubſiſt; which, from the elegance of it's forms, and the ſuperior taſte of it's ornaments, will ever be beyond any kind of compariſon. But we have ſaid enough, and perhaps too much, upon the ſubject in queſtion. We muſt now proceed to ſpeak of the ſilks of China.

The annals of China aſcribe the diſcovery of ſilk to one of the wives of the emperor Hoangti. Theſe princeſſes afterwards amuſed themſelves with breeding up ſilk-worms, drawing the ſilk, and working it. It is even ſaid, that in the interior part of the palace there was a piece of ground ſet apart for the culture of mulberry-trees. The empreſs, attended by the chief ladies of her court, went in perſon and gathered the leaves of ſome of the branches that were brought down ſo as to be within her reach. So prudent an inſtance of policy promoted this branch of induſtry to ſuch a degree, that the Chineſe, who before were only clothed in ſkins, ſoon appeared dreſſed in ſilk. The ſilks, that were now grow'n very common, were ſoon brought to great perfection. The Chineſe were indebted for this laſt advantage

The Europeans buy ſilks in China. Their difference from our ſilks.

BOOK V.

to the writings of ſome ingenious men, and even of ſome miniſters, who had not diſdained to attend to this new art. All China learnt from their theory every thing belonging to it.

The art of breeding up ſilk-worms, and of ſpinning and weaving their ſilk, extended from China to India and Perſia, where it made no very rapid progreſs; if it had, Rome would not, at the end of the third century, have given a pound of gold for a pound of ſilk. Greece having adopted this art in the eighth century, ſilks became a little more know'n, but did not grow common. They were long conſidered as an object of magnificence, and reſerved for perſons in the moſt eminent ſtations, and for the greateſt ſolemnities. At length, Roger, king of Sicily, ſent for manufacturers from Athens; and the culture of the mulberry-tree ſoon paſſed from that iſland to the neighbouring continent. Other countries in Europe wiſhed to partake of an advantage from which Italy derived ſo much wealth; and after ſome fruitleſs attempts they attained it. However, from the nature of the climate, or ſome other cauſe, it has not ſucceeded equally in every place.

The ſilks of Naples, Sicily, and Reggio, whether in organzin or in tram, are all ordinary ſilks; but they are uſeful, and even neceſſary for brocades, for embroidery, and for all works that require ſtrong ſilk.

The other Italian ſilks, thoſe of Novi, Venice, Tuſcany, Milan, Montferrat, Bergamo, and Piedmont, are uſed in organzin for the warp, though

though they are not all equally fine and good. The Bologna ſilks were for a long time preferred to any other. But ſince thoſe of Piedmont have been improved, they juſtly claim the preference, as being the ſmootheſt, the fineſt, and the lighteſt. Thoſe of Bergamo come neareſt to them.

THOUGH the Spaniſh ſilks in general are very fine, thoſe of Valencia are by far the beſt. They are all fit for any ſort of manufacture; the only fault they have, is being rather too oily, which is a great detriment to the dye.

THE French ſilks excel moſt others in Europe, and are inferior to none but thoſe of Piedmont and Bergamo in point of lightneſs. Beſides, they are brighter coloured than thoſe of Piedmont; and more even and ſtronger than thoſe of Bergamo.

THE variety of ſilk produced in Europe has not yet enabled us to diſpenſe with that of the Chineſe. Though in general it is uneven and heavy, it will always be in requeſt for it's whiteneſs. It is generally thought to derive this advantage from nature: but it is more probable, that, when the Chineſe draw the ſilk, they put ſome ingredient into the baſon, that has the property of expelling all heterogeneous ſubſtances, or at leaſt the coarſeſt parts of them. The little waſte there is in this ſilk compared to any other, when it is boiled for dying, ſeems to give great weight to this conjecture.

HOWEVER this be, the Chineſe ſilk is ſo far ſuperior to any other in whiteneſs, that it is the only one which can be uſed for blondes and

BOOK V.

gauzes: all our endeavours to ſubſtitute our own in the blonde manufactures have been fruitleſs, whether we have made uſe of prepared or unprepared ſilk. The attempts in gauze have not been quite ſo unſucceſsful. The whiteſt French and Italian ſilks have been tried, and ſeemed to anſwer tolerably well; but neither the colour nor the dreſſing were ſo perfect as in the gauzes made with the Chineſe ſilk.

In the laſt century, the Europeans imported very little ſilk from China. The French ſilk ſucceeded very well for black and coloured gauze, and for cat-gut that was then in faſhion. The taſte that has prevailed for theſe forty years paſt, and more eſpecially for the laſt twenty-five, for white gauzes and blondes, has gradually increaſed the demand for this production of the Eaſt. Of late it has amounted to eighty thouſand weight a-year, of which France has always taken near three-fourths. This importation has increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in 1766 the Engliſh alone imported a hundred and four thouſand weight: as it could not be all conſumed in gauze and blonde, the manufacturers have uſed it for tabbies and hoſe. The ſtockings made of this ſilk are of a beautiful white that never changes, but are not near ſo fine as others.

Beside this ſilk, ſo remarkable for it's whiteneſs, which comes chiefly from the province of Tche-Kiang, and is know'n in Europe by the name of Nanking-ſilk, which is the place where moſt of it is prepared, China produces ordinary ſilks, which we call Canton. As theſe are only

fit

fit for ſome kinds of tram, and are as dear as our own, which anſwer the ſame purpoſe, very few are imported. The quantity brought home by the Engliſh and Dutch does not exceed five or ſix thouſand pieces. The manufactured ſilks are a much more conſiderable article.

THE Chineſe are not leſs ingenious in weaving their ſilks than in preparing them. This does not extend to thoſe that are mixed with gold and ſilver. Their manufacturers have never know'n how to draw out theſe metals into thread, and the whole of their art conſiſts in rolling their ſilks upon gilt paper, or putting the paper upon them after they are woven. Both methods are equally bad.

THOUGH, in general, men are more apt to be pleaſed with novelty than with true excellence, yet the Europeans have never been tempted to buy theſe ſtuffs. They have been equally diſguſted at the aukwardneſs of the patterns, which exhibit nothing but diſtorted figures, and unmeaning groupes; they diſcover no taſte in the diſpoſition of the lights and ſhades, nor any of that elegance and eaſe that appears in the works of our good artiſts. There is a ſtiffneſs and a want of freedom, in all that the Chineſe do, that is diſpleaſing to perſons of any taſte; all favours of their particular turn of mind, which is deſtitute of vivacity and elevation.

THE only thing that makes us overlook theſe defects in thoſe works that repreſent flowers, birds, or trees, is, that none of thoſe objects are raiſed. The figures are painted upon the ſilk itſelf

BOOK V.

ſelf with indelible colours; and yet the deception is ſo perfect, that all theſe objects appear to be brocaded or embroidered.

THEIR plain ſilks want no recommendation, for they are perfect in their kind: and ſo are their colours, eſpecially the green and the red. The white of their damaſks has ſomething extremely pleaſing. The Chineſe make them only with the ſilk of Tche-Kiang. They thoroughly boil the warp, as we do, but only half-boil the woof. This method gives the damaſk more ſubſtance and ſtiffneſs. It has a reddiſh caſt without being yellow, which is very pleaſing, and has not that glare that dazzles the ſight. This agreeable white is likewiſe obſerved in the Chineſe varniſh.

The Europeans purchaſe lacquered ware and paper in China. Digreſſion upon the arts of this empire.

THE varniſh is a particular kind of reſin, which diſtils from a tree called at Japan, *ſitz-dſiu*, and at China, *tſi-chu*. It has few branches, and is of the height of the willow. It's bark is of a whitiſh colour and rough, it's wood brittle and full of pith. It's leaves, which are alternately diſpoſed at the extremity of the branches, reſemble thoſe of the aſh, and puſh out from their axillæ cluſters of flowers, which are male upon one plant, and female upon another. The firſt have a calix with five diviſions, five petals, and as many ſtamina. In the others we find, inſtead of ſtamina, a piſtil crowned with three ſtyles; this piſtil becomes a yellowiſh fruit, of the bigneſs of a pea, ſlightly compreſſed on the ſides, and filled with a hard kernel. This tree grows very well from ſeed, but the method of propagating it by ſprigs is preferred. For this purpoſe, the branches from which

which new plants are to be raiſed, are choſen in autumn. They are ſurrounded at their baſe with a ball of moiſtened earth, tied round with thread, till the ſeaſon of the froſt, and kept moiſt by being conſtantly watered. In the ſpring, when the branch has ſhot ſome branches into this earth, it is ſawed off below the ball, and tranſplanted.

This tree grows only in ſome mild provinces of China and Japan. It is alſo found in thoſe regions of America, that are ſituated under the ſame latitude, ſuch as Louiſiana and Carolina. It thrives in all ſoils and with all expoſures: but it's produce is not the ſame in every place, either in quality or quantity. It requires but little care in cultivating. It is ſufficient to ſtir up the ground a little at the foot of the trees, and to put dead leaves round it, which ſerve inſtead of dung. The trunk of thoſe trees, that grow wild in the mountains, is ſometimes twelve inches in diameter. It is much leſs in thoſe trees that are cultivated, and which do not laſt leſs than ten years. This difference is to be attributed to the inciſions that are made in their bark to extract the varniſh. This milky juice, which exiſts in all parts of the tree, diſtils from the inciſions, under the form of liquid pitch. When expoſed to the air it aſſumes a reddiſh colour, which is ſoon changed into a bright black. Shells are fixed at each ſlit, to receive the liquor; which is afterwards poured into bamboos, and then carried to the merchants, who put it into larger veſſels. The freſh varniſh exhales a dangerous vapour, which produces inflammatory

ſlammatory humours upon the ſkin of thoſe who are expoſed to it. They preſerve themſelves from this pernicious effect, by turning the head aſide when they collect the liquid, or when they pour it off. Some travellers add, that the workmen rub their hands and face with oil before and after the buſineſs, and that they carefully cover all other parts of their body.

The varniſh is gathered in the ſummer, and the proceſs is repeated three times in the ſame ſeaſon, and upon the ſame tree; but the firſt that runs off is the beſt. When the tree appears exhauſted, it's ſtem is cut off, and the root puſhes forth freſh ſhoots, which are ready to yield varniſh at the end of three years.

The varniſh moſt in repute is that which comes from Japan. It does not require much preparation. It is ſufficient to ſtrain it through a cloth, in order to ſeparate it from any foreign particles. The ſuperfluous watery parts are alſo evaporated by the heat of the ſun, and hog's gall is added to give it a degree of conſiſtence.

We muſt not confound this varniſh with a very inferior ſort with which it is adulterated. The latter, which is know'n by the name of Siam varniſh, diſtils from the tree that yields the anacardium. It is only uſed in varniſhing the moſt ordinary utenſils. It is gathered at Siam, Cambodia, and Tonquin, where the Chineſe purchaſe it, becauſe that which they extract from the Tſichu is not ſufficient for their conſumption.

The true varniſh, of which they diſtinguiſh three different kinds in China, is uſed in two ways.

ways. The firſt conſiſts in rubbing the wood with a particular ſort of oil uſed in China; and as ſoon as it is dry, the varniſh is laid on. It is ſo tranſparent, that the veins of the wood appear tinged through it, if it be laid on but two or three times. If it be repeatedly applied, it may be brought to ſhine like a looking-glaſs.

THE other way is more complicated. A kind of paſte-board is glued by the help of maſtic over the wood. On this ſmooth and ſolid ground are ſpread ſeveral layers of varniſh. It muſt be neither too thick nor too liquid; and in this juſt medium the ſkill of the artiſt principally conſiſts.

WHICHEVER way the varniſh is laid on, it effectually preſerves the wood from decaying. The worms can ſcarce penetrate it, neither has the damp ever the leaſt effect upon it; and with a little care this varniſh leaves no ſmell behind.

THIS varniſh is as pleaſing to the eye as it is durable. It may be applied on gold and ſilver, and mixed with all ſorts of colours. Upon it are painted figures, landſcapes, palaces, hunting parties, and battles. In ſhort, it would not be deficient in any reſpect, if it were not generally ſpoiled by the badneſs of the Chineſe drawing.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defect, the making of this ware requires much pains and conſtant attention. The varniſh muſt be laid on nine or ten times at leaſt, and cannot be ſpread too thin. There muſt be a ſufficient time allowed between the application of each layer, that it may be ſuffered to dry. A longer time ſtill muſt be allowed between the application of the laſt layer and the

poliſhing,

BOOK V.

poliſhing, painting, and gilding. A whole ſummer is ſcarce ſufficient for all this proceſs at Nanking, from whence the court and the chief cities of the empire are ſupplied. It is carried on with greater expedition at Canton. As there is a great demand for this ware in Europe, and as the Europeans will have it made according to their own plan, and will allow but a ſhort time to complete it, it is uſually finiſhed in too great haſte. The artiſt, not having time to give the neceſſary degree of perfection to his work, is ſatisfied if he can but make it pleaſing to the eye. The Chineſe manufacture of paper is not liable to the ſame imperfections.

ORIGINALLY the Chineſe wrote with a ſteel bodkin upon wooden tablets, which, being faſtened together, made a volume. They afterwards traced their characters upon pieces of ſilk or linen, cut to any length or breadth. At laſt, about ſixteen hundred years ago, they found out the ſecret of making paper.

THE Chineſe paper is of two kinds. That which is uſed for writing and printing, is made of cotton rags, and of hemp, by a proceſs nearly ſimilar to that which is practiſed in the European manufactures. It is equal, and in ſome reſpects, ſuperior to our paper. It's thinneſs and tranſparency have ſuggeſted the idea of it's being made of ſilk. But the perſons who have propagated this opinion knew not that ſilk, though it may be reduced into very minute particles, will not mix with water, and can never acquire a conſiſtence by being laid upon frames.

In making the ſecond kind of paper, the Chineſe uſe the internal barks of the mulberry-tree, of the elm, of the cotton-tree, and more frequently of the bamboo. Theſe ſubſtances, after they are become rotten by ſoaking in muddy water with lime in it, are cut in pieces, bleached in the dew or in the ſun, triturated in mortars, and boiled in coppers to a fluid paſte. This paſte being ſpread upon frames that are made of ſmall cane-rods paſſed through the wire-drawing iron, produces thoſe ſheets of paper that are ſometimes twelve feet long, and four feet broad, and which are generally uſed for hangings in the Chineſe houſes. Sometimes they are deſigned for writing or printing: but they muſt in that caſe be dipped in a ſolution of alum; and even after this proceſs, one can only write or print upon one of the two ſides.

Though this paper be apt to crack, to be injured by damps, and to be worm-eaten, it is become an article of trade. Europe has borrowed from Aſia the idea of furniſhing cloſets and making ſcreens with it.

The figures upon this paper are graceful in their attitudes and in their dreſs: but though we ſee heads, which preſent ſome agreeable feature, yet they are very incorrectly draw'n. The eyes in a full face are frequently repreſented as they ſhould appear in a profile; and the hands are always wretchedly done. Moreover, there are no ſhades in theſe drawings, and the objects appear as if they received light from all ſides. They have not even a ſhade upon their ground, and are, in ſome meaſure, tranſparent. Accordingly, it may

BOOK V.

may be ſaid that the Chineſe are not in the leaſt in poſſeſſion of the art of painting: for there can be no painting where there are neither contours, nor half-tints, nor ſhades, nor reflected lights. Their works are at beſt nothing more than ſlight-coloured prints.

We cannot draw any concluſion from the plates that were engraved at Paris for the Emperor of China. The drawings were made by miſſionaries who had learnt the art of deſign in Europe, by which means, they have in general been found conformable to the ideas of effect which we acquire from a ſtudied inſpection of nature. Nevertheleſs, in conformity without doubt to the cuſtom of the empire, one of them has been found, in which the figures marked no ſhade upon the ground, which made them appear as if they were in the air.

The perſpective we obſerve in theſe drawings, may alſo be attributed to the knowlege acquired in Europe. Though it be not accurate nor well choſen, ſince all the aſpects are preſented as in a kite's view, yet theſe prints are, in this reſpect, very ſuperior to real Chineſe drawings. In the latter, we may indeed diſtinguiſh ſome idea of diminution in perſpective, and of the leſſening of objects: but we diſcern nothing that can induce us to ſuppoſe, that they have any knowlege of perſpective geometrically demonſtrated.

These theoretical principles being leſs neceſſary in ſculpture, they have made more proficiency in that art. In many of their figures with ſhaking heads, we obſerve accurate imitations of

nature, executed with great care, but without taſte in the workmanſhip, and ſervilely copied, as amongſt us, at the revival of the arts. Theſe artiſts know not how to conſider nature in her beauties. This proceeds, probably, from their not ſtudying the naked figure, and from the circumſtance of their not aiming at improvement, as ſoon as they find that they are advanced as far as their predeceſſors.

This confined method of ſtudying, may however have produced one good effect among them, with reſpect to their porcelain. It may have contributed to preſerve in their vaſes the forms the moſt ſimple, and thoſe which firſt preſented themſelves. Theſe are, in fact, the moſt proper for this ſpecies of ſculpture. They are the beſt adapted to the neceſſity of bearing an intenſe fire without getting out of ſhape. Their form, which is generally upright, or has none but very eaſy inflections, ſeems more fit to bear the effect of baking. Our abundance of genius, and the conſtant deſire of producing ſomething new, induces us to attempt all kinds of curved attitudes, and frequently to paint objects in the air, which ſucceed with difficulty; and which, becoming irregular by the action of the fire, produce many defects, and occaſion the loſs of ſeveral pieces. To which we may add, that the firſt workmen who were employed in making figures for vaſes in our manufactures, were too much accuſtomed to work in gold and ſilver, where every thing may be attempted. It is to be hoped, that time, experience, and the failure of ſucceſs in many

BOOK V.

many trials, will reſtore to this art the ſimplicity that belongs to it.

SINCE the cuſtom of painting upon paper has been adopted in France and England, the Chineſe paper is in leſs requeſt. We may poſſibly be as ſucceſsful in our endeavours of producing rhubarb for ourſelves.

China ſupplies the Europeans with rhubarb, and other articles.

THE rhubarb is a root which has the property of purging gently, of ſtrengthening the ſtomach, of facilitating digeſtion, and of deſtroying worms in children. It is a tuberoſe root, rather ſpongy, brown on the outſide, yellow internally and ſtreaked with reddiſh veins. It's taſte is bitter and aſtringent, it's ſmell acrid and aromatic. That which is cloſe, has a ſtrong ſmell, and tinges the ſaliva yellow, is preferred. The pieces that are rotten, too looſe in their texture, and have but little ſmell, are throw'n away.

WE have not, as yet, any certain idea of the plant that yields this remedy: it has not been examined upon the ſpot by any naturaliſt. The rhubarb of Muſcovy, the leaves of which are undulated, has been for ſome time conſidered as the true rhubarb: but it's root, which is too compact, and leſs purgative, ſeems to decide the matter againſt it. Another ſpecies, which is the *Rheum Palmatum* of the botaniſts, and ſome ſeeds of which Mr. de Juſſieu has lately received through Ruſſia, ſhould ſeem to be the plant in queſtion. It's root has the ſame texture, the ſame diſtinguiſhing characters, the ſame properties as that which is uſed in our ſhops. It is oblong, tuberoſe, and puſhes out ſeveral leaves, palmated,

palmated, has ſharp pointed pods, from the middle of which there riſes, at the height of ſix feet, a ſtalk of white flowers, rather ſmall, each of which is compoſed of a coloured calix with ſix diviſions of nine ſtamina, and one piſtil, ſurmounted with three ſtyles, which becomes, as it ripens, a triangular ſeed.

We know not the preciſe place from whence this ſpecies originally comes: but it is well aſcertained, that the true rhubarb grows without cultivation, between the thirtieth and thirty-ninth degrees of north latitude. The provinces of Chenſi and of Setſchuen, to the north-weſt of China, the Leſs Bucharia, and the kingdom of Tangut, fill up a great part of this immenſe ſpace.

The root of the rhubarb is taken out of the earth towards the end of winter, before the leaves are unfolded. It is cut into pieces, which are placed upon long tables, and ſtirred about ſeveral times in a day, till the juice they contain is grow'n thick and concrete. Without this precaution, the moſt active part of the root would be diſſipated, the conſequences of which would be a diminution of it's weight, and of it's virtues. The roots are afterwards ſtrung upon little ſtrings to dry them, and are hung up in the open air, in a ſhady place, or tied round the necks of the cattle, as ſome travellers affirm. They are afterwards folded up in cotton, and ſent to their reſpective deſtinations.

The Calmuck Tartars, and the inhabitants of Great Bucharia, are the perſons who carry the rhubarb to Oremburg, where the Ruſſian govern-

BOOK V.

ment has it bought up. The good roots are carefully ſeparated from the bad ones. Thoſe that are not worth preſerving are burnt; and the reſt are dried a ſecond time. The rhubarb that is not conſumed in the interior part of the empire, is delivered to the Engliſh merchants at a ſtipulated price, which never varies. It is the beſt of all the rhubarbs.

Next to this is the ſort which the people of Great Bucharia carry into Perſia, and which, after having traverſed part of Aſia by land, arrives on the borders of the Mediterranean, where it is bought by the Venetians.

Before it is ſold again, this rhubarb is treated nearly with the ſame care as that which has paſſed through the hands of the Ruſſians.

The rhubarb which comes to us by theſe two channels, not being ſufficient for our conſumption, we have been obliged to employ that which our navigators bring us from China. It is very inferior to the other ſorts; whether it be that it has only been dried in an oven, as it has been imagined from it's not being bored; or whether it may have acquired ſome particular taſte by being placed near other productions; or, in a word, whether a long voyage at ſea may not have altered it's properties.

The Europeans have been deſirous of appropriating to themſelves this ſalutary plant. The rhubarb tree which is ſeen in the royal garden at Paris, has already furniſhed ſome ſeeds and ſhoots, which have ſucceeded in an open ground, in ſeveral provinces of the kingdom. The ſociety

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed at London for the encouragement of arts and commerce, diſtributed, in 1779, medals to two Engliſh cultivators who had produced rhubarb of a ſuperior quality. Theſe firſt experiments muſt have been attended with favourable conſequences.

Beside the articles already mentioned, the Europeans bring from China, ink, camphire, borax, canes, gum-lac; and formerly they purchaſed gold there.

In Europe a mark of gold is worth about fourteen marks and a half of ſilver. If there were a country in which it was worth twenty, our merchants would carry gold thither to exchange it for ſilver. They would bring us back that ſilver, to receive gold in exchange, which they would again carry abroad for the ſame purpoſe. This trade would be continued in this manner till the relative value of the two metals came to be much the ſame in both countries. It was upon this principle, that for a long time ſilver was ſent to China, to be bartered for gold; by which traffic a profit of forty-five per cent. was made. It was never carried on by the charter companies; becauſe the profit they made upon it, however conſiderable it may appear, was yet much inferior to that obtained upon their merchandize. Their agents, who were not indulged in purſuing what trade they choſe, attended to theſe ſpeculations for their own advantage. They followed this branch of commerce with ſo much aſſiduity, that in a ſhort time the returns were not ſufficient to induce them to continue it. Gold is of greater or leſs value at Can-

BOOK V.

ton, according to the time of the year when it is purchaſed; it's value is lower from the beginning of February to the end of May, than through the reſt of the year, when the harbour is full of foreign ſhips. Yet, in the moſt favourable ſeaſon, no more than eighteen per cent. is to be made of it, which is not a ſufficient inducement for any one to undertake this traffic. The only agents, who have not been ſufferers by the ceſſation of this trade, are thoſe of the French company, who were never allowed to be concerned in it. The directors reſerved that profit for themſelves. Many attempted it; but Caſtanier was the only one who carried on the trade with abilities and ſucceſs. He ſent goods to Mexico; theſe were ſold for piaſters, which were carried to Acapulco, then to the Philippines, and from thence to China, where they were bartered for gold. That able man, by this judicious circulation, had opened a track, which it is ſurpriſing that no one has ſince purſued.

Account of the Europeans who have formed connections with China.

All the European nations, which ſail beyond the Cape of Good Hope, go as far as China. The Portugueſe were the firſt who landed there. The Chineſe gave them the town of Macao, which was built upon a barren and rugged ſpot, on the point of a little iſland at the mouth of the river Canton, and with it a territory of about three miles in circumference. They obtained the freedom of the harbour, which is too narrow, but ſafe and commodious, upon the condition of paying to the empire all the duties to be levied on the ſhips that ſhould come in; and they purchaſed the liberty of building fortifications, by engaging to pay a yearly

yearly tribute of 37,500 livres*. As long as the court of Liſbon maintained the ſovereignty of the Indian ſeas, this place was a famous mart. It declined in the ſame proportion as the power of the Portugueſe, and gradually came to nothing. There would ſcarce be any remembrance left of this ſpot, formerly ſo celebrated, if, during one part of the year, it did not ſerve as an aſylum for the European factors, who, after the departure of their ſhips, are obliged to quit Canton, which they cannot re-enter till their veſſels return. Nevertheleſs, the feeble remains of this once flouriſhing colony, ſtill enjoyed a kind of independence 'till the year 1774.

At that period, the murder of a Chineſe determined the viceroy of the province to apply to his court for a magiſtrate to inſtruct and govern the barbarians of Macao; theſe were the words of his petition. The court ſent a Mandarin, who took poſſeſſion of the town in the name of his maſter. He ſcorned to live among foreigners, who are always holden in great contempt, and fixed his reſidence at the diſtance of a league from the town.

The Dutch met with worſe treatment about a century ago. Thoſe republicans, who, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority they had gained in the Aſiatic ſeas, had been excluded from China by the intrigues of the Portugueſe, at laſt got acceſs to the ports of that empire. Not ſatisfied with the precarious footing they had aquired there, they attempted to erect a fort near Hoang-pou, under pretence of building a warehouſe. It is

* 1,562l. 10s.

 ſaid,

BOOK V.

ſaid, that their deſign was to make themſelves maſters of the navigation of the Tigris, and to give law both to the Chineſe and to foreigners, who were deſirous of trading to Canton. Their views were diſcovered too ſoon for their intereſt. They were all maſſacred; and it was a great while before any of their nation could venture to appear anew upon the coaſts of China. They were ſeen there again about the year 1730. The firſt ſhips that arrived there came from Java. They brought various commodities of the growth of India in general, and of their own colonies in particular, and bartered them for thoſe of the country. The commanders of theſe veſſels, wholly intent upon pleaſing the council of Batavia, from which they immediately received their orders, and expected their promotion, had nothing in view but to diſpoſe of the merchandize they were intruſted with, without attending to the quality of that they received in return. The Company ſoon found, that in conſequence of this proceeding they could never ſupport themſelves againſt their competitors. This conſideration determined them to ſend ſhips directly from Europe with money. They touch at Batavia, where they take in ſuch commodities of the country as are fit for China, and return directly into our latitudes, with much better ladings than formerly, but not ſo good as thoſe of the Engliſh.

Of all the nations that have eſtabliſhed an intercourſe with China, the Engliſh have maintained it the moſt conſtantly. They had a factory in the iſland of Chuſan, at the time when affairs

affairs were chiefly tranſacted at Emouy. When theſe were centered at Canton, their activity was ſtill the ſame. As their Company were required to export woollen cloths, they determined to keep agents conſtantly at this place to diſpoſe of them. This cuſtom of the Engliſh, joined to the great demand for tea in their ſettlements, made them, at the beginning of the century, maſters of almoſt all the trade carried on between China and Europe. The heavy duties, laid by the Parliament on that foreign production, at laſt made other nations, and France in particular, ſenſible of the advantages of this commerce.

FRANCE had formed in 1660 a particular Company for the trade of theſe latitudes. A rich merchant of Rouen, named Fermanel, was at the head of the undertaking; which was begun with an inſufficient capital, and proved unſucceſsful. The averſion, naturally entertained for a people who believed that foreigners came among them for no other purpoſe than to corrupt their morals, and to deprive them of their liberty, was conſiderably increaſed by the loſſes that were ſuſtained. In vain, towards the year 1685, did the Chineſe alter their opinion, and conſequently their behaviour. The French ſeldom frequent their ports. The new ſociety formed in 1698, was not more active than the former; nor did they ſucceed in this trade, 'till it came to be united with that of India, and roſe in the ſame proportion.

THE Danes and the Swedes began to frequent the ports of China about the ſame time, and have

BOOK V.

acted upon the same principles as the French. The Embden Company would probably have adopted them likewise, had it subsisted long enough.

The annual purchases made by the Europeans in China, if we compute them by those of the year 1766, amount to 26,754,494 livres*; this sum, above four-fifths of which is laid out on the single article of tea, was paid in piastres, or in goods carried by twenty-three ships. Sweden furnished 1,935,168 livres† in money, and 427,500‡ in tin, lead, and other commodities. Denmark, 2,161,630 livres§ in money, and 231,000‖ in iron, lead, and gun-flints. France, 4,000,000** in money, and 400,000†† in drapery. Holland, 2,735,400‡‡ in money, and 44,600§§ in woollen goods, beside 4,000,150‖‖ in the produce of her colonies. Great Britain, 5,443,566 livres*** in money, 2,000,475††† in woollen cloths, and 3,375,000‡‡‡ in various articles from different parts of India. All these sums together amount to 26,754,494 livres§§§. We do not include in this calculation 10,000,000‖‖‖ in specie, which the English have carried over and above what we have mentioned, because they were destined to pay off the debts that nation had contracted, or to lay in a stock to trade upon in the intervals between the voyages.

* 1,114,770l. 11s. 8d. † 80,632l. ‡ 17,812l. 10s.
§ 90,067l. 18s. 4d. ‖ 9,625l. ** 166,666l. 13s. 4d.
†† 16,666l. 13s. 4d. ‡‡ 113,975l. §§ 1,858l. 6s. 8d.
‖‖ 166,672l. 18s. 4d. *** 226,815l. 5s.
††† 83,353l. 2s. 6d. ‡‡‡ 140,625l.
§§§ 1,114,777l. 11s. 8d. ‖‖‖ 416,666l. 13s. 4d.

Conjectures concerning the future ſtate of the trade of Europe in China.

It is not eaſy to foreſee what this trade will hereafter be. Though the Chineſe are ſo fond of money, they ſeem more inclined to ſhut their ports againſt the Europeans, than to encourage them to extend their trade. As the ſpirit of the Tartars has ſubſided, and the conquerors have imbibed the maxims of the vanquiſhed nation, they have adopted their prejudices, and in particular their averſion and contempt of foreigners. They have diſcovered theſe diſpoſitions, by the humiliating hardſhips they have impoſed upon them, after having treated them with great reſpect. The tranſition is but ſhort from this precarious ſituation to a total expulſion. It may not be far off; and this is the more likely, as there is an active nation which is, perhaps, ſecretly contriving to bring about this event.

The Dutch are not ignorant that all Europe is grow'n very fond of ſeveral Chineſe productions. They may readily ſuppoſe, that the impoſſibility of procuring them from the firſt hand would not hinder the conſumption. If all Europeans were excluded from China, the natives would export their own commodities. As their ſhipping is not fit for a long navigation, they would be under a neceſſity of carrying them to Batavia, or Malacca; and the nation to whom theſe colonies belong, would immediately get all this trade in it's hands. It is dreadful even to ſuſpect theſe republicans of any thing ſo baſe, but it is well know'n that they have been guilty of more odious acts for intereſts of leſs conſequence.

BOOK V.

If the ports of China were once ſhut, it is probable they would be ſo for ever. The obſtinacy of that nation would never ſuffer them to retract, and there is no appearance that they would be compelled to it. What meaſures could be taken againſt a ſtate at the diſtance of eight thouſand leagues? No government can be ſo abſurd as to imagine, that men, after the fatigues of ſo long a voyage, would venture to attempt conqueſts in a country defended by ſuch a number of people, however deſtitute of courage this nation, which has never tried it's ſtrength againſt the Europeans, may be ſuppoſed to be. The only way in which we could diſtreſs theſe people, would be by intercepting their navigation, which is an object they pay little attention to, as it neither affects their ſubſiſtence nor their conveniences.

Even this fruitleſs revenge would be practicable but for a ſhort time. The ſhips employed in this piratical cruiſe would be driven from thoſe latitudes, one part of the year by the monſoons, and the other part by the ſtorms they call typhons, which are peculiar to the ſeas of China.

Having thus explained the manner in which the Europeans have hitherto carried on the Eaſt India trade, it will not be improper to examine three queſtions, which naturally ariſe upon the ſubject, and have not yet been decided. 1. Whether it be adviſeable to continue that trade. 2. Whether large ſettlements be neceſſary to carry it on with ſucceſs. 3. Whether it ought to be left in the hands of excluſive companies. We ſhall

diſcuſs

diſcuſs theſe points with impartiality, as we have no other concern in the cauſe but the intereſt of mankind.

All the accounts we have of things, are perverted by ignorance or evil intentions. The politician is guided only by his views; the merchant by his intereſt. There is none but the philoſopher who knows when to doubt; who is ſilent, when his knowlege fails him; and who tells the truth, when once he reſolves to ſpeak. For indeed, what reward could be offered, of ſufficient importance to induce him to deceive mankind, and to forfeit his character. If we ſuppoſe it fortune; he is rich enough, if he have but a ſufficiency to ſatisfy his wants, which are extremely limited. Is it ambition? If he have the happineſs of being wiſe, he may excite the envy of others; but there is nothing under the heavens that he can poſſibly covet. Is he to be tempted with dignities? He knows they will not be offered to him; and if they ſhould be, he knows that he would not accept them without a certainty of doing good. Is he to be ſeduced by flattery? He is totally unacquainted with this art, and diſdains the contemptible advantages of it. Can he be influenced by fear? He fears nothing; not even death. If he be throw'n into a dungeon, he is well aware this is not the firſt time that tyrants, or fanatics, have plunged virtue into ſuch a ſituation, from whence ſhe has been taken out merely to be dragged upon a ſcaffold. It is he who eſcapes out of the hands of deſtiny that knows not how to lay hold of him, becauſe he

BOOK V.

he has broken off, as the ſtoic ſays, the handles by which the ſtrong ſeizes upon the weak, and diſpoſes of them at pleaſure.

Whether Europe ſhould continue it's trade with India.

WHOEVER conſiders Europe as forming but one body, the members of which are united in one common intereſt, or at leaſt in the ſame kind of intereſt, will not heſitate to pronounce, whether her connections with Aſia be advantageous or not. The India trade evidently enlarges the circle of our enjoyments. It procures us wholeſome and agreeable liquors, conveniences of a more refined nature, more ſplendid furniture, ſome new pleaſures, and a more comfortable exiſtence. Such powerful incentives have had the ſame influence upon thoſe nations, who, from their ſituation, activity, good fortune in making diſcoveries, and boldneſs in enterprizes, can procure theſe enjoyments for themſelves at their very ſource; as upon thoſe who are unable to acquire them, unleſs through the channel of the maritime ſtates, whoſe navigation enabled them to diſperſe the ſuperfluities of their enjoyments over the whole continent. The Europeans have been ſo eager in their purſuit after theſe foreign luxuries, that neither the higheſt duties, the ſtricteſt prohibitions, nor the ſevereſt penalties, have been able to reſtrain it. Every government, after having in vain tried to ſubdue this inclination, which only increaſed by oppoſition, has been forced at laſt to yield to it; though general prejudices, which were ſtrengthened by time and cuſtom, made them conſider this compliance

pliance as detrimental to the ſtability of the common good.

But the time was come, when it became neceſſary to remove the reſtraints. Can it be a matter of doubt, whether it be beneficial to add the enjoyments of foreign climates to thoſe of our own? Univerſal ſociety exiſts as well for the common intereſt of the whole, as by the mutual intereſt of all the individuals that compoſe it. An increaſe of felicity muſt, therefore, reſult from a general intercourſe. Commerce is the exerciſe of that valuable liberty, to which nature has invited all men; which is the ſource of their happineſs, and indeed of their virtues. We may even venture to aſſert, that men are never ſo truly ſenſible of their freedom as they are in a commercial intercourſe; nor is any thing ſo conducive to it as commercial laws: and one particular advantage derived from this circumſtance is, that as trade produces liberty, ſo it contributes to preſerve it.

We muſt be but little acquainted with man, if we imagine, that, in order to make him happy, he muſt be debarred from enjoyments. We grant, that the being accuſtomed to want the conveniences of life leſſens the ſum of our misfortunes; but by diminiſhing our pleaſures in a greater proportion than our pains, we are rather brought to a ſtate of inſenſibility than of happineſs. If nature have given man a heart ſuſceptible of tender impreſſions; if his imagination be for ever involuntarily employed in ſearch of ideal and deluſive objects of happineſs; it is fit that his reſtleſs mind

BOOK V.

mind ſhould have an infinite variety of enjoyments to purſue. But let reaſon teach him to be ſatisfied with ſuch things as he can enjoy, and not to be anxious for thoſe that are out of his reach; this is true wiſdom. But to require, that reaſon ſhould make us voluntarily reject what it is in our power to add to our preſent happineſs, is to contradict nature, and to ſubvert the firſt principles of ſociety; it is to transform the univerſe into one vaſt monaſtery, and to change men into ſo many idle and melancholy anchorets. Let us ſuppoſe this project executed; and, caſting our eyes upon the globe, let us aſk ourſelves, whether we ſhould be better pleaſed with it in the ſtate we ſhould then ſee it, than as it was before?

How ſhall we perſuade man to be content with the few indulgences that moraliſts think proper to allow him? How ſhall we aſcertain the limits of what is neceſſary, which varies according to his ſituation in life, his attainments, and his deſires? No ſooner had his induſtry facilitated the means of procuring a ſubſiſtence, than the leiſure he gained by this was employed in extending the limits of his faculties, and the circle of his pleaſures. Hence aroſe all his factitious wants. The diſcovery of a new ſpecies of ſenſations excited a deſire of preſerving them, and a propenſity to find out others. The perfection of one art introduced the knowlege of ſeveral others. The ſucceſs of a war, occaſioned by hunger or revenge, ſuggeſted the idea of conqueſt. Navigation put men under a neceſſity of deſtroying one another, or of forming a general union. Commercial

treaties

treaties between nations parted by the ſeas, and ſocial compacts between men diſperſed upon the earth, bore an exact reſemblance to each other. Theſe ſeveral relations began by conteſts, and ended by aſſociations. War and navigation have occaſioned a mutual communication between different people and different colonies. Hence men became connected with each other by dependence or intercourſe. The refuſe of all nations, mixing together during the ravages of war, are improved and poliſhed by commerce; the true ſpirit of which is, that all nations ſhould conſider themſelves as one great ſociety, whoſe members have all an equal right to partake of the conveniences of the reſt. Commerce, in it's object and in the means employed to carry it on, ſuppoſes an inclination and a liberty between all nations to make every exchange that can contribute to their mutual ſatisfaction. The inclination and the liberty of procuring enjoyments are the only two ſprings of induſtry, and the only two principles of ſocial intercourſe among men.

Those who cenſure the trade of Europe with India, have only the following reaſons to allege againſt an univerſal and free intercourſe; that it is attended with a conſiderable loſs of men; that it checks the progreſs of our induſtry; and that it leſſens our ſtock of money. Theſe objections are eaſily obviated.

As long as every man ſhall be at liberty to chuſe a profeſſion, and to employ his abilities in any manner moſt agreeable to himſelf, we need not be ſolicitous about his deſtiny. As in a ſtate

BOOK V.

of freedom every thing has it's proper value, no man will expoſe himſelf to any danger, without expecting an equivalent. In a well-regulated ſociety, every individual is at liberty to do what is moſt conformable to his inclination and his intereſt, provided it be not inconſiſtent with the properties and liberties of others. A law, that ſhould prohibit every trade in which a man might endanger his life, would condemn a great part of mankind to ſtarve, and would deprive ſociety of numberleſs advantages. We need not croſs the Line to carry on a dangerous trade; ſince, even in Europe, we may find many occupations far more deſtructive to the human race than the navigation to India. If the perils attending ſea-voyages deſtroy ſome of our men, let us only give due encouragement to the culture of our lands, and our population will be ſo much increaſed, that we ſhall be better able to ſpare thoſe ſelf-devoted victims who are ſwallowed up by the ſea. To this we may add, that moſt of thoſe who periſh in long voyages are loſt through accidental cauſes, which might eaſily be prevented by more wholeſome diet and a more regular life. But if men will add, to the vices prevalent in their own climate, and to the corruption of their own manners, thoſe of the countries where they land, how is it poſſible that they ſhould reſiſt theſe united principles of deſtruction?

Even ſuppoſing that the India trade ſhould coſt Europe as many men as it is ſaid to do, are we certain that this loſs is not compenſated by the labours to which that trade gives riſe, and which encourage

encourage and increaſe our population? Would not the men, diſperſed upon the ſeveral ſhips continually ſailing in theſe latitudes, occupy a place upon land which is now left vacant for others? If we conſider attentively the number of people contained in the ſmall territories of maritime powers, we ſhall be convinced, that it is not the navigation to Aſia, nor even navigation in general, that is detrimental to the population of Europe: but, on the contrary, navigation alone may, perhaps, balance all the cauſes that tend to the deſtruction and decreaſe of mankind. Let us now endeavour to remove the fears of thoſe who apprehend that the India trade never leſſens the number of our manufactories at home, and the profits ariſing from them.

ADMITTING it true, that it had put a ſtop to ſome of our labours, it has given riſe to many more. It has introduced into our colonies the culture of ſugar, coffee, and indigo. Many of our manufactures are ſupported by India ſilk and cotton. If Saxony and other countries in Europe make very fine china; if Valencia manufactures Pekins ſuperior to thoſe of China; if Switzerland imitates the muſlins and worked callicoes of Bengal; if England and France print linens with great elegance; if ſo many ſtuffs, formerly unknow'n in our climates, now employ our beſt artiſts, are we not indebted to India for all theſe advantages?

LET us proceed further, and ſuppoſe that we are not indebted to Aſia for any of our improvements, the conſumption we make of it's commo-

BOOK V.

dities cannot therefore be detrimental to our induſtry; for we pay for them with the produce of our own manufactures exported to America. I ſell a hundred livres worth of linen to the Spaniard, and ſend that money to the Eaſt Indies. Another ſends the ſame quantity of the linen itſelf. We both bring home tea. In fact, we are both doing the ſame thing; we are changing a hundred livres worth of linen into tea: the only difference is, that the one does it by two tranſactions, and the other by a ſingle one. Suppoſe the Spaniard, inſtead of giving me money, had given me goods that were ſaleable in India, I ſhould not have hindered our artificers by carrying them thither. Is it not the very ſame thing as if I had carried our own produce there? I ſail from Europe with the merchandize and manufactures of my own country; I go to the South Sea, and exchange them for piaſtres; I carry thoſe piaſtres to India, and bring home things that are either uſeful or agreeable. Have I been the means of reſtraining the induſtry of my country? Far from it; I have extended the conſumption of it's produce, and multiplied the enjoyments of my countrymen. The circumſtance that miſleads the oppoſers of the India trade is, that the piaſters are brought over to Europe before they are carried to Aſia. But finally, whether the money be or be not employed as the intermediate pledge of exchange, I have either directly or indirectly made an exchange with Aſia, and bartered goods for goods, my manufactory for their's, my productions for their productions.

But

But it is objected by ſome diſcontented men, that India has at all times ſwallowed up all the treaſures of the univerſe. Ever ſince chance has taught men the uſe of metals, ſay theſe cenſurers, they have never ceaſed to ſearch for them. Avarice, ever reſtleſs, has not forſaken theſe barren rocks, where nature has wiſely concealed thoſe inſidious treaſures. Since they were taken out of the bowels of the earth, they have conſtantly been diffuſed upon the ſurface of it; and notwithſtanding the extreme opulence of the Romans, and of ſome other nations, they have diſappeared from Europe, Africa, and ſome parts of Aſia. India hath entirely abſorbed them. Riches are all taking the ſame courſe; paſſing on continually from weſt to eaſt, and never returning. It is therefore for India, that the mines of Peru have been opened; and for the Indians, that the Europeans have been guilty of ſo many crimes in America. While the Spaniards are laviſhing the lives of their ſlaves in Mexico to obtain ſilver out of the bowels of the earth, the Banians take ſtill more pains to bury it again. If ever the wealth of Potoſi ſhould be exhauſted, we muſt go in ſearch for it on the coaſt of Malabar where we have ſent it. When we have drained India of it's pearls and ſpices, we ſhall, perhaps, by force of arms recover from them the ſums thoſe luxuries have coſt us. Thus ſhall our cruelties and caprices remove the gold and ſilver into other climes, where avarice and ſuperſtition will again bury them under ground.

BOOK V.

THESE complaints are not altogether groundleſs. Ever ſince the reſt of the world have opened a communication with India, they have conſtantly exchanged gold and ſilver for arts and commodities. Nature has ſupplied the Indians with the few neceſſaries they want; their climate will not admit of our luxuries; and their religion gives them an abhorrence for ſome things that we feed upon. As their cuſtoms, manners, and government, have continued the ſame, notwithſtanding the revolutions that have overturned their country, we muſt not expect they ſhould ever alter. India ever was, and ever will be, what it now is. As long as any trade is carried on there, money will be brought in, and goods ſent out. But before we exclaim againſt the abuſe of this trade, we ſhould attend to it's progreſs, and conſider what is the reſult of it.

FIRST, it is certain our gold does not go to India. It has gold of it's ow'n, beſides a conſtant ſupply from Monomotapa, which comes by the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, and by the Red Sea; from the Turks, which is brought by the way of Arabia and Baſſora; and from Perſia, which is conveyed both by the ocean and the continent. This enormous maſs is never increaſed by the gold we procure from the Spaniſh and Portugueſe colonies. In a word, we are ſo far from carrying gold to Aſia, that for a long while we have carried ſilver to China to barter it againſt gold.

EVEN the ſilver which India gets from us is by no means ſo conſiderable as may be imagined from the

the immenſe quantity of Indian goods we bring home. The annual ſale of theſe goods has of late years amounted to a hundred and ſixty millions *. Suppoſing they have coſt but half of what they ſold for, eighty millions † muſt have been ſent to India to purchaſe them, beſides what muſt have been ſent over for our ſettlements. We ſhall not ſcruple to affirm, that, for ſome time paſt, all Europe has not carried thither more than twenty-four millions ‡ a year. Eight millions § are ſent from France, ſix ‖ from Holland, three ** from England, three †† from Denmark, two ‡‡ from Sweden, and two §§ from Portugal.

THIS calculation will not appear improbable, if we conſider, that though in general India be in no want either of our produce or of our manufactures, yet it receives from us, in iron, lead, copper, woollens, and other leſs articles, to the full amount of one-fifth of the commodities we buy there.

THIS mode of payment is augmented by the produce of the European ſettlements in Aſia. The moſt conſiderable are thoſe of the ſpice iſlands for the Dutch, and of Bengal for the Engliſh.

THE fortunes made by the free traders and agents in India contribute alſo to leſſen the exportation of our ſpecie. Thoſe induſtrious men

* 6,666,666l. 13s. 4d.
† 3,333,333l. 6s. 8d.
‡ 1,000,000l.
§ 333,333l. 6s. 8d.
‖ 250,000l.
** 125,000l.
†† 125,000l.
‡‡ 83,333l. 6s. 8d.
§§ 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

BOOK V.

depoſit their ſtock in the coffers of their own country, or of ſome other nation, to be repaid them in Europe, whither they all return ſooner or later. Therefore a part of the India trade is carried on with money got in the country.

PARTICULAR events alſo put us ſometimes in poſſeſſion of the treaſures of the Eaſt. It is undeniable, that by the revolutions in the Decan and Bengal, and by diſpoſing of theſe empires at pleaſure, the French and the Engliſh have obtained the wealth accumulated in theſe opulent regions for ſo many ages. It is evident that thoſe ſums, joined to others leſs conſiderable, which the Europeans have acquired by their ſuperior ſkill and bravery, muſt have retained a great deal of ſpecie among them, which otherwiſe would have gone into Aſia.

THAT rich part of the world has even reſtored to us ſome of the treaſure we had poured into it. The expedition of Kouli Khan into India is univerſally know'n; but it is not equally ſo, that he wreſted from the effeminate and cowardly people of this country upwards of 2,000,000,000 * in ſpecie, or in valuable effects. The emperor's palace alone contained ineſtimable and innumerable treaſures. The preſence chamber was covered with plates of gold; the cieling was ſet with diamonds. Twelve pillars of maſſive gold, adorned with pearls and precious ſtones, ſurrounded the throne, the canopy of which was remarkably beautiful, and repreſented a peacock,

* 83,333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

with

with wings and tail extended to overſhadow the monarch. The diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and all the ſparkling gems which compoſed this curious piece of workmanſhip, perfectly imitated the colours of this beautiful bird. No doubt part of that wealth is returned into India. Much of the treaſure brought to Perſia from the conqueſt of the Mogul, muſt have been buried under ground during the ſubſequent wars; but the ſeveral branches of commerce muſt certainly have brought ſome to Europe, through ſuch channels as are too well know'n to make it neceſſary to ſpecify them.

ADMITTING that none of theſe riches have reached us, the opinion of thoſe who condemn the trade of India, becauſe it is carried on with ſpecie, will not be better ſupported, which may be eaſily proved. Gold and ſilver are not the produce of our ſoil but of America, and are ſent us in exchange for the productions of our own country. If Europe did not remit them to Aſia, America would ſoon be unable to return any to Europe. The too great plenty of it on our continent would ſo reduce it's value, that the nations who bring it to us could no longer get it from their colonies. When once an ell of linen cloth, which is now worth twenty ſols *, riſes to a piſtole †, the Spaniards cannot buy it of us, to carry it to the country which prōduces ſilver. The working of their mines is expenſive. When this expence ſhall have increaſed to ten times that

* 10d. † 16s. 9d.

BOOK V.

ſum, and the value of ſilver is ſtill the ſame, the buſineſs of working in the mines will be more coſtly than profitable to the owners, who will conſequently give it up. No more gold and ſilver will come from the new world to the old; and the Americans will be obliged to neglect their richeſt mines, as they have gradually forſaken the leſs valuable ones. This event would have taken place before, if they had not found a way of diſpoſing of about 3,000,000,000 † in Aſia, by the Cape of Good Hope, or by the Philippine iſlands. Therefore this circulation of money into India, which ſo many prejudiced perſons have hitherto conſidered as a ruinous exportation, has been beneficial both to Spain, by ſupporting the only manufacture ſhe hath, and to other nations, who without it could never have diſpoſed of their produce, or of the fruits of their induſtry. Having thus juſtified the India trade, we ſhall next proceed to inquire, whether it has been conducted on the principles of ſound policy.

Whether it be neceſſary, that the Europeans ſhould have large eſtabliſhments in India, in order to carry on the trade?

ALL the nations in Europe, who have ſailed round the Cape of Good Hope, have aimed at founding great empires in Aſia. The Portugueſe, who led the way to thoſe wealthy regions, firſt ſet us the example of a boundleſs ambition. Not content with having made themſelves maſters of the iſlands in which the choiceſt productions were to be found, and erected fortreſſes wherever they were neceſſary to ſecure to themſelves the navigation of the Eaſt, they aſpired alſo to the authority of

† 125,000,000 l.

giving

giving laws to Malabar, which, being divided into ſeveral petty ſovereignties, that were jealous of, or at emnity with each other, was forced to ſubmit to the yoke.

THE Spaniards did not at firſt ſhew more moderation; even before they had completed the conqueſt of the Philippine iſlands, which were to be the center of their power, they ſtrove to extend their dominion further. If they have not ſince ſubdued the reſt of that immenſe Archipelago, or filled all the adjacent countries with their enormities, we muſt look for the cauſe of their tranquillity in the treaſures of America, which have confined their purſuits, though they did not ſatisfy their deſires.

THE Dutch deprived the Portugueſe of their moſt conſiderable poſts on the continent, and drove them out of the ſpice iſlands. They have preſerved thoſe poſſeſſions, and ſome later acquiſitions, only by eſtabliſhing a form of government, leſs oppreſſive than that of the nations on whoſe ruins they were riſing.

THE ſlowneſs and irreſolution of the French in their proceedings, prevented them for a conſiderable time from forming or executing any great projects. As ſoon as they found themſelves ſufficiently powerful, they availed themſelves of the ſubverſion of the power of the Moguls to uſurp the dominion of Coromandel. They obtained by conqueſt, or by artful negociations, a more extenſive territory than any European power had ever poſſeſſed in Indoſtan.

BOOK V.

The Engliſh, more prudent, did not attempt to aggrandiſe themſelves, 'till they had deprived the French of their acquiſitions, and 'till no rival nation could act againſt them. The certainty of having none but the natives of the country to contend with, determined them to attack Bengal. This was the province of all India which afforded moſt commodities fit for the markets of Aſia and Europe, and was likely to conſume moſt of their manufactures: it was alſo that which their fleet could moſt effectually protect, as it hath the advantage of a great river. They have ſucceeded in their plan of conqueſt, and flatter themſelves they ſhall long enjoy the fruits of their victory.

Their ſucceſſes, and thoſe of the French, have aſtoniſhed all nations. It is eaſy to conceive how ſolitary and defenceleſs iſlands, that have no connection with their neighbours, may have been ſubdued. But it is very aſtoniſhing, that five or ſix hundred Europeans ſhould at this time have beaten innumerable armies of Gentiles and Mohammedans, moſt of them ſkilled in the art of war. Theſe extraordinary ſcenes, however, ought not to appear ſurpriſing to any one who conſiders what has happened before.

The Portugueſe had no ſooner appeared in the Eaſt, than with a few ſhips and a few ſoldiers they ſubverted whole kingdoms. The eſtabliſhment of ſome factories, and the building of a ſmall number of forts, was ſufficient to enable them to cruſh the powers of India. When the Indians were no longer oppreſſed by the firſt conquerors, they

they were ſo by thoſe who expelled and ſucceeded them. The hiſtory of theſe delightful regions was no longer the hiſtory of the natives, but that of their tyrants.

But what ſingular men muſt theſe have been, who never could gather any improvement from experience and adverſity; who ſurrendered themſelves to their common enemy without making any reſiſtance, and who never acquired ſkill enough from their continual defeats to repulſe a few adventurers, caſt, as it were, from the ſea upon their coaſts! It is a matter of doubt whether theſe men, alternately deceived and ſubdued by thoſe who attacked them, were not of a different ſpecies. To reſolve this problem, we need only trace the cauſes of this weakneſs in the Indians; and our firſt inquiry ſhall turn upon that ſyſtem of deſpotiſm with which they are oppreſſed.

There is no nation, which, as it becomes civilized, does not loſe ſomething of it's virtue, courage, and independence; and it is evident that the inhabitants of the ſouth of Aſia, having been firſt collected into ſocieties, muſt have been the earlieſt expoſed to deſpotiſm. Such has been the progreſs of all aſſociations from the beginning of the world. Another truth, equally evident from hiſtory, is, that all arbitrary power haſtens it's own deſtruction; and that revolutions will reſtore liberty, ſooner or later, as they are more or leſs rapid. Indoſtan is perhaps the only country, in which the inhabitants, after having once loſt their rights, have never been able to recover them.

BOOK V.

them. Tyrants have frequently been deſtroyed; but tyranny has always ſupported itſelf.

Civil ſlavery has been added in India to political ſlavery. The Indian is not maſter of his own life; he knows of no law that will protect it from the caprice of the tyrant, or the fury of his delegates. He is not maſter of his own underſtanding; he is debarred from all ſtudies that are beneficial to mankind, and only allowed ſuch as tend to enſlave him. He is not maſter of his own field; the lands and their produce belong to the ſovereign, and the labourer may be ſatisfied if he can earn enough to ſubſiſt himſelf and family. He is not maſter of his own induſtry; every artiſt, who has had the misfortune to betray ſome abilities, is in danger of being doomed to ſerve the monarch, his deputies, or ſome rich man, who has purchaſed a right to employ him at pleaſure. He is not maſter of his own wealth: he buries his gold under ground, to ſecure it from the rapacious hand of power; and leaves it there at his death, abſurdly imagining it will be of ſervice to him in the next world. No doubt this abſolute and tyrannical authority, with which the Indian is continually oppreſſed, muſt ſubdue his ſpirit, and render him incapable of thoſe efforts that courage requires.

The climate of Indoſtan is another impediment to any generous exertions. The indolence it inſpires is an invincible obſtacle to great revolutions and vigorous oppoſitions, ſo common in the northern regions. The body and the mind, equally

equally enervated, have only the virtues and vices of ſlavery. In the ſecond, or at fartheſt in the third generation, Tartars, Turks, Perſians, and even Europeans, contract the ſlothful diſpoſition of the Indians. Theſe influences of the climate might certainly be ſubdued by religious or moral inſtitutions; but the ſuperſtitions of the country will not admit of ſuch exalted views. They never promiſe future rewards to the generous patriot who falls in his country's cauſe. While they adviſe, and ſometimes command ſuicide, by repreſenting in a ſtrong light the alluring proſpect of future happineſs, they at the ſame time ſtrictly forbid the effuſion of blood.

This circumſtance is a neceſſary conſequence of the doctrine of tranſmigration, which muſt inſpire it's followers with conſtant and univerſal benevolence. They are in continual fear of injuring their neighbour, that is, all men and all animals. How can a man reconcile himſelf to the idea of being a ſoldier, when he can ſay, Perhaps the elephant or the horſe I am going to deſtroy may contain the ſoul of my father—perhaps the enemy I ſhall kill has formerly been the chief of my family? Thus, in India, religion tends to keep up the ſpirit of cowardice which reſults from deſpotiſm and the nature of the climate; the manners of the people contribute ſtill more to increaſe it.

In every country, love is the ruling paſſion; but it is not equally ſtrong in every climate. While northern nations are moderate in their deſires, the ſouthern ones indulge in them with a degree of

ardour

BOOK V.

ardour ſuperior to every reſtraint. The policy of princes has ſometimes turned this paſſion to the advantage of ſociety; but the legiſlators of India ſeem to have principally intended to increaſe the fatal influence of their ardent climate. The Moguls, the laſt conquerors of thoſe regions, have proceeded ſtill further. Love is with them a ſhameful and deſtructive exceſs, conſecrated by religion, by the laws, and by goverment. The military conduct of the nations of Indoſtan, whether Pagans or Mohammedans, is conſiſtent with their diſſolute manners. We ſhall mention ſome particulars taken from the writings of an Engliſh officer remarkable for his military exploits in thoſe parts.

THE ſoldiers make up the ſmalleſt part of the Indian camps. Every trooper is attended by his wife, his children, and two ſervants; one to look after his horſe, and the other to forage. The train of the officers and generals is proportionable to their vanity, their fortune, and their rank. The ſovereign himſelf, more intent upon making a parade of his magnificence than upon the neceſſities of war, when he takes the field, carries along with him his ſeraglio, his elephants, his court, and almoſt all the inhabitants of his capital. To provide for the wants, the fancies, and the luxury of this ſtrange multitude, a kind of town muſt of courſe be formed in the midſt of the army, full of magazines and unneceſſary articles. The motions of a body ſo unwieldy and ſo ill-arranged cannot but be very ſlow. There is great confuſion in their marches, and in all their operations.

tions. However abſtemious the Indians, and even the Moguls may be, they often experience a want of proviſions; and famine is uſually attended with contagious diſtempers, and occaſions a dreadful mortality.

These diſtempers, however, ſeldom deſtroy any but recruits. Though, in general, the inhabitants of Indoſtan affect a ſtrong paſſion for military glory, yet they engage in war as ſeldom as they can. Thoſe, who have been ſo ſucceſsful in battle as to obtain ſome marks of diſtinction, are excuſed from ſerving for ſome time; and there are few that do not avail themſelves of this privilege. The retreat of theſe veterans reduces the army to a contemptible body of ſoldiers, levied in haſte in the ſeveral provinces of the empire, and who are utterly unacquainted with diſcipline.

The nature of the proviſions on which theſe troops ſubſiſt, and their manner of living, is entirely conſiſtent with this improper mode of raiſing them. At night they eat a prodigious quantity of rice; and after this meal they take ſtrong opiates, which throw them into a deep ſleep. Notwithſtanding this pernicious cuſtom, no guards are placed about their camp to prevent a ſurprize; nor is it poſſible to make a ſoldier riſe early, even to execute any enterprize that may require the greateſt diſpatch.

The military operations are regulated by birds of prey, of which there are always a great number in the army. If they be found heavy or languid, it is an unfavourable omen, and prevents the army from giving battle: if they be fierce and violent,

BOOK V.

violent, the troops march out to action, whatever reaſons there may be for avoiding or deferring it. This ſuperſtition, as well as the obſervance of lucky and unlucky days, determines the fate of the beſt-concerted deſigns.

No order is obſerved in marching. Every ſoldier goes on as he chooſes, and only follows the corps to which he belongs. He is frequently ſeen carrying his proviſions upon his head, with the veſſels for dreſſing them; while his arms are carried by his wife, who is commonly followed by ſeveral children. If a foot-ſoldier has any relations, or buſineſs to tranſact in the enemy's army, he is under no apprehenſion in going to it; and returns to join his colours without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition.

The action is not better conducted than the preparations for it. The cavalry, in which conſiſts the whole ſtrength of an Indian army (for the infantry are holden in general contempt), are uſeful enough in charging with the ſword and ſpear, but can never ſtand the fire of cannon and muſquetry. They are afraid of loſing their horſes, which are moſtly Arabian, Perſian, or Tartar, and in which their whole fortune conſiſts. The troops that compoſe this cavalry are in great eſteem, and well paid: they are ſo fond of their horſes, that ſometimes they will go into mourning upon loſing them.

The Indians dread the enemy's artillery, as much as they confide in their own; though they neither know how to tranſport it, nor how to make uſe of it. Their great guns, which are called by pompous

pompous names, are generally of a very extraordinary ſize, and rather prevent than aſſiſt the gaining of a victory.

THOSE who are ambitious of being diſtinguiſhed intoxicate themſelves with opium, to which they aſcribe the property of warming the blood, and of animating them to the performance of heroic actions. In this temporary ſtate of intoxication, they bear a greater reſemblance, in their dreſs and impotent rage, to women actuated by a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, than to men of courage and reſolution.

THE prince who commands theſe deſpicable troops is always mounted on an elephant richly capariſoned, where he is at once the general and the ſtandard of the whole army, whoſe eyes are fixed upon him. If he ſhould fly, or be ſlain, the whole machine is deſtroyed; the ſeveral corps diſperſe, or go over to the enemy.

THIS deſcription, which we might have enlarged upon without exaggeration, renders probable the account given of our ſucceſſes in Indoſtan. Many Europeans, judging of what might be effected in the inland parts by what has been done on the coaſts, imagine we might ſafely undertake the conqueſt of the whole country. This extreme confidence ariſes from the following circumſtance: that in places where the enemy could not haraſs their troops in the rear, nor intercept their ſuccours, they have overcome timorous weavers and merchants, undiſciplined and cowardly armies, weak princes jealous of each other, and perpetually at war with their neighbours or their own

BOOK V.

ſubjects. They do not conſider, that, if they wanted to penetrate into the interior parts, they would all periſh before they had proceeded half way up the country. The exceſſive heat of the climate, continual fatigue, numberleſs diſeaſes, want of proviſion, and a variety of other cauſes, would ſoon conſiderably diminiſh their numbers, even though they had nothing to apprehend from thoſe troops that might moleſt them.

We will ſuppoſe, however, that ten thouſand European ſoldiers had actually over-run and ravaged India from one end to the other; what would be the conſequence? Would theſe forces be ſufficient to ſecure the conqueſt, to keep every nation, every province, every diſtrict, in order? And if this number be not ſufficient, let it be calculated what number of troops would be neceſſary for the purpoſe.

But let us admit that the conquerors had firmly eſtabliſhed their government in India, they would ſtill reap very little advantage from this circumſtance. The revenues of Indoſtan would be ſpent in Indoſtan itſelf. The European power, that had purſued this project of uſurpation, would have experienced nothing but a conſiderable decreaſe in it's population, and the diſgrace of having followed a viſionary ſyſtem.

This, indeed, is now an uſeleſs queſtion, ſince the Europeans themſelves have made their ſucceſs in Indoſtan more difficult than ever. By engaging the natives to take a part in their mutual diſſentions, they have taught them the art

of war, and trained them to arms and diſcipline. This error in politics has opened the eyes of the ſovereigns of thoſe countries, whoſe ambition has been excited to eſtabliſh regular troops. Their cavalry marches in better order; and their infantry, which was always conſidered in ſo deſpicable a light, has now acquired the firmneſs of our battalions. A numerous and well-managed artillery defends their camps, and protects their attacks. The armies, compoſed of better troops, and better paid, have been able to keep the field longer.

This change, which might have been foreſeen, had the Europeans not been blinded by temporary intereſt, may in time become ſo conſiderable, as to raiſe unſurmountable obſtacles to the deſire they have of extending their conqueſts in Indoſtan, and poſſibly they may loſe thoſe they have already made. Whether this will be a misfortune or an advantage, is what we ſhall next take into conſideration.

When the Europeans firſt began to trade in that wealthy region, they found it divided into a great many ſmall ſtates, ſome of which were governed by princes of their own nation, and ſome by Patan kings. Their mutual hatred was the occaſion of continual conteſts. Beſide the wars that were carried on between province and province, there was a perpetual one between every ſovereign and his ſubjects. It was fomented by the tax-gatherers, who, to ingratiate themſelves at court, always levied heavier taxes than had been laid on the people. Theſe barbarians aggravated

this heavy burden by the oppreſſions they made the inhabitants ſuffer. Their extortions were only another method of ſecuring to themſelves the poſts they enjoyed, in a country where he was always in the right who had the moſt to give.

From this anarchy, and theſe violent proceedings, it was imagined, that, to ſettle a ſafe and permanent commerce, it was neceſſary to ſupport it by the force of arms; and the European factories were accordingly fortified. In proceſs of time, jealouſy, which divides the European nations in India, as it does every where elſe, expoſed them to more conſiderable expences. Each of theſe foreign nations thought it neceſſary to augment their forces, leſt they ſhould be overpowered by their rivals.

The dominion of the Europeans, however, extended no further than their own fortreſſes. Goods were brought thither from the inland parts with little difficulty, or with ſuch as was eaſily overcome. Even after the conqueſts of Kouli-Kan had plunged the north of Indoſtan into confuſion, the coaſt of Coromandel enjoyed it's former tranquillity. But the death of Nizam-al-Muluc, Subah of the Decan, kindled a flame which is not yet extinguiſhed.

The diſpoſal of thoſe immenſe ſpoils naturally belonged to the court of Dehli; but the weakneſs of that court emboldened the children of Nizam to diſpute their father's treaſure. To ſupplant each other, they had recourſe alternately to arms, to treachery, to poiſon, and to aſſaſſinations. Moſt of the adventurers they engaged in their animoſities

ſities and crimes periſhed during theſe horrid tranſactions. The Marattas alone, a nation who alternately ſided with both parties, and often had troops in each, ſeemed as if they would avail themſelves of this anarchy, and invade the ſovereignty of the Decan. The Europeans have pretended it was greatly their intereſt to oppoſe this deep but ſecret deſign, and they allege the following reaſons in their defence.

THE Marattas, ſay they, are thieves, both from education and from their political principles. They have no regard to the law of nations, no notion of natural or civil right, and ſpread deſolation wherever they go. The moſt populous diſtricts are abandoned at the very report of their approach. In the countries they have ſubdued, nothing is to be ſeen but confuſion, and all the manufactures are deſtroyed.

THE Europeans, who were moſt powerful on the coaſt of Coromandel, thought ſuch neighbours would utterly deſtroy their trade; and they could never venture to ſend money by their agents to buy goods in the inland countries, as they would certainly be plundered by theſe banditti. The deſire of preventing this evil, which muſt ruin their fortunes, and deprive them of the benefit of their ſettlements, ſuggeſted to their agents the idea of a new ſyſtem.

IT was aſſerted, that, in the preſent ſituation of Indoſtan, it was impoſſible to keep up uſeful connections without a military eſtabliſhment: that, at ſo great a diſtance from the mother-country, the expence could not poſſibly be defrayed out of

the mere profits of trade, were they ever ſo great: that therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary to procure ſufficient poſſeſſions to anſwer theſe great expences; and conſequently, that the poſſeſſions muſt be conſiderable.

This argument, probably ſuggeſted to conceal inſatiable avarice, or boundleſs ambition, and which the paſſion for conqueſt may have occaſioned to be conſidered as a very ſtrong one, may perhaps be a mere illuſion. A variety of natural, moral, and political reaſons may be urged in oppoſition to it. We ſhall only inſiſt upon one, which is founded upon a fact. From the Portugueſe, who firſt attempted to aggrandize themſelves in India, to the Engliſh, who cloſe the fatal liſt of uſurpers, not one acquiſition, however important or trifling, except Bengal and the Spice iſlands, hath ever paid the expence of taking and ſupporting it. The more extenſive the poſſeſſions have been, the greater has been the expence of maintaining them to the ambitious power that had, by whatever means, acquired them.

This is what will always happen. Every nation that has obtained a large territory will be deſirous of preſerving it. It will think there is no ſafety but in fortified places, and will conſtantly multiply them. This warlike appearance will deter the huſbandman and the artiſt, who will not expect to enjoy tranquillity. The neighbouring princes will grow jealous, and will juſtly be afraid of falling a prey to a trading nation now become a conquering one. In conſequence of this,

this, they will be deviſing means to ruin an oppreſſor, whom they had admitted into their harbours, with no other view than to increaſe their own treaſures and power. If they find themſelves under a neceſſity of entering into a treaty, they will, at the inſtant of ſigning, ſecretly vow the deſtruction of their new ally. Falſehood will be the baſis of all their agreements; and the longer they have been forced to diſſemble, the more time they will have had to prepare the means deſtined to deſtroy their enemy.

The juſt apprehenſion of theſe perfidies will oblige the uſurpers to be always upon their guard. If they are to be defended by Europeans, what a conſumption of men for the mother-country! what an expence to raiſe them, to tranſport them into theſe countries, to maintain and recruit them! If, from a principle of œconomy, they content themſelves with the Indian troops, what can be expected from a confuſed and unprincipled multitude, whoſe expeditions always degenerate into robbery, and conſtantly end in a ſhameful and precipitate flight? Their principles, whether natural or moral, are ſo weakened, that even the defence of their gods and their own houſeholds could never inſpire the boldeſt among them with any thing beyond a ſudden and tranſient exertion of intrepidity. It is not probable that foreign intereſts, ruinous to their country, ſhould ever animate men whoſe minds are ſunk in indolence and corruption: is it not more probable that they will be ever ready to betray a cauſe they abhor, and

BOOK V.

in which they find no immediate and laſting advantage?

To theſe inconveniences will be added a ſpirit of extortion and plunder, which even in the times of peace will nearly reſemble the devaſtations of war. The agents, intruſted with thoſe remote concerns, will be deſirous of making rapid fortunes. The ſlow and regular profits of trade they will not attend to, but will endeavour to promote ſpeedy revolutions in order to acquire great wealth. They will have occaſioned innumerable evils before they can be controuled by authority at the diſtance of ſix thouſand leagues. This authority will have no force againſt millions; or the perſons intruſted with it will arrive too late to prevent the fall of an edifice ſupported on ſo weak a foundation.

This reſult makes it needleſs to inquire into the nature of the political engagements the Europeans have entered into with the powers of India. If theſe great acquiſitions be prejudicial, the treaties made to procure them cannot be rational. If the merchants of Europe be wiſe, they will forego the rage of conqueſt, and the flattering hopes of holding the balance of Aſia.

The court of Dehli will finally ſink under the weight of inteſtine diviſions, or fortune will raiſe up a prince capable of reſtoring it. The government will remain feudal, or once more become deſpotic. The empire will be divided into many independent ſtates, or will be ſubject only to one maſter. Either the Marattas or the Moguls will become

come a ruling power; but the Europeans ſhould not be concerned in theſe revolutions; whatever be the fate of Indoſtan, the Indians will ſtill continue their manufactures, our merchants will purchaſe them, and ſell them again to us.

It would be needleſe to allege, that the ſpirit which has always prevailed in thoſe countries has forced us to depart from their common rules of trade; that we are in arms upon the coaſts; that this poſition unavoidably obliges us to interfere with the affairs of our neighbours; and that, if we avoid all intercourſe with them, ſuch a reſerve will certainly prove extremely detrimental to our intereſts. Theſe fears will appear groundleſs to ſenſible men, who know that a war in thoſe diſtant regions muſt be ſtill more fatal to the Europeans than to the natives; and that the conſequence will be, that we muſt either ſubdue the whole, which is ſcarcely poſſible, or be for ever expelled from a country where it is our advantage to maintain our connections.

The love of order and tranquillity would even make it deſirable to extend theſe pacific views; and, far from thinking that great poſſeſſions are neceſſary, time will probably diſcover even the inutility of fortified poſts. The Indians are naturally gentle and humane, though cruſhed under the ſevere yoke of deſpotiſm. The nations, who formerly traded with them, always commended them for their candour and honeſty. The Indians are now in a ſtate of confuſion, equally alarming to them and to us. Our ambition has carried diſcord into all parts of their country, and our rapa-

BOOK V.

rapaciouſneſs has inſpired them with hatred, fear, and contempt for our continent; they look upon us as conquerors, uſurpers, and oppreſſors, ſanguinary and avaricious men. This is the character we have acquired in the Eaſt. Our examples have increaſed the number of their national vices, at the ſame time that we have taught them to be in guard againſt our's.

If in our tranſactions with the Indians we had been guided by principles of probity; if we had ſhew'n them, that mutual advantage is the baſis of commerce; if we had encouraged their cultivation and manufactures, by exchanges equally advantageous to both; we ſhould inſenſibly have gained their affections. If we had fortunately taken care to preſerve their confidence in our dealings with them, we might have removed their prejudices, and, perhaps, changed their form of government. We ſhould have ſucceeded ſo far as to have lived among them, and trained up civilized nations around us, who would have protected our ſettlements for our mutual intereſts. Every one of our eſtabliſhments would have been to each nation in Europe as their native country, where they would have found a ſure protection. Our ſituation in India is the conſequence of our profligacy and of the ſanguinary ſyſtems we have introduced there. The Indians imagine nothing is due to us, becauſe all our actions have ſhew'n, that we did not think ourſelves under any ties with reſpect to them.

This ſtate of perpetual contention is diſpleaſing to moſt of the Aſiatic nations, and they ardently wiſh

wiſh for a happier change. The diſorder of our affairs muſt have inſpired us with the ſame ſentiments. If we be all in the ſame diſpoſitions, and if one common intereſt ſhould really incline us to peace and harmony, the moſt effectual way to attain this deſirable end would perhaps be, that all the European nations, who trade to India, ſhould agree among themſelves to preſerve a neutrality in thoſe remote ſeas, which ſhould never be interrupted by the diſturbances that ſo frequently happen on our own continent. If we could once conſider ourſelves as members of one great commonwealth, we ſhould not want thoſe forces which make us odious abroad, and ruinous at home. But, as our preſent ſpirit of diſcord will not permit us to expect that ſuch a change can ſoon take place, it remains only that we now conſider, whether Europe ought ſtill to carry on the commerce of India by charter companies, or to make it a free trade.

Whether Europe ought to lay open the trade to India, or carry it on by excluſive charters.

If this queſtion were to be decided upon general principles, it would be eaſily anſwered. If we aſk whether, in a ſtate which allows any particular branch of trade, every citizen has a right to partake of it; the anſwer is ſo plain as to leave no room for diſcuſſion. It would be unnatural that ſubjects, who ſhare alike the burden and public expence of civil ſociety, ſhould not be alike partakers of the benefits ariſing from the compact that unites them; they would have cauſe to complain, that they ſuſtain all the inconveniences of ſociety, and are deprived of the advantages they expected to receive from it.

On

BOOK V.

On the other hand, political notions are perfectly reconcileable with theſe ideas of juſtice. It is well know'n that freedom is the very ſoul of commerce, and that nothing elſe can bring it to perfection. It is generally allowed that competition awakens induſtry, and gives it all the vigour it is capable of acquiring. Yet, for upwards of a century, the practice has conſtantly been contradictory to theſe principles.

All the nations of Europe, that trade to India, carry on that commerce by excluſive companies; and it muſt be confeſſed, that this practice is plauſible, becauſe it is hardly conceivable that great and enlightened nations ſhould have been under a miſtake for above a hundred years on ſo important a point, and that neither experience nor argument ſhould have undeceived them. We muſt conclude, therefore, that either the advocates for liberty have given too great a latitude to their principles, or that the favourers of excluſive privilege have too ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the neceſſity of ſuch limitations; poſſibly, both parties, from too great an attachment to their reſpective opinions, have been deceived, and are equally diſtant from the truth.

Ever ſince this famous queſtion has been debated, it has always been thought to be a very ſimple one; it has always been ſuppoſed that an India company muſt neceſſarily be excluſive, and that it's exiſtence was eſſentially connected with it's privilege. Hence the advocates for a free trade have aſſerted that excluſive privileges were odious;

odious; and, therefore, that there ought to be no company. Their opponents have argued, on the contrary, that the nature of things required a company; and therefore that there muſt be an excluſive charter. But if we can make it appear that the reaſons urged againſt charters prove nothing againſt companies in general, and that the circumſtances which may render it neceſſary to have an India company, do not ſupply any argument in favour of a charter; if we can demonſtrate that the nature of things requires, indeed, a powerful aſſociation, a company for the India trade; but that the excluſive charter is connected only with particular cauſes, inſomuch that the company may exiſt without the charter; we ſhall then have traced the ſource of the common error, and found out the ſolution of the difficulty.

Let us inquire what conſtitutes the particular nature of commercial tranſactions. It is the climate, the produce, the diſtance of places, the form of the government, the genius and manners of the people who are ſubject to it. In the trade with India, the merchant muſt undertake a voyage of ſix thouſand leagues in ſearch of the commodities which the country ſupplies: he muſt arrive there at a certain ſeaſon, and wait till another for the proper winds to return home. Therefore every voyage takes up about two years, and the proprietors of the veſſels muſt wait this time for their returns. This is the firſt and a very material circumſtance.

The nature of a government in which there is neither ſafety nor property will not permit the people

BOOK V.

people to have any public marts, or to lay up any ſtores. Let us repreſent to ourſelves men who are depreſſed and corrupted by deſpotiſm, workmen who are unable to undertake any thing of themſelves; and, on the other hand, nature more liberal in her gifts, than power is rapacious, ſupplying a ſlothful people with food ſufficient for their wants and their deſires; and we ſhall wonder that any induſtry ſhould be found in India. And indeed it may be affirmed, that ſcarce any manufacture would be carried on there, if the workmen were not encourged by ready money, or if the goods were not engaged for a year before they are wanted. One-third of the money is paid at the time the work is ordered, another when it is half done, and the remainder on delivery of the goods. From this mode of payment there is a conſiderable difference made, both in price and in the quality of the goods; but from hence likewiſe ariſes a neceſſity of having one's capital out a year longer, that is, three years inſtead of two. This is an alarming circumſtance for a private man, eſpecially if we conſider the largeneſs of the capital that is requiſite for ſuch undertakings.

As the charges of navigation and the riſques are very great, they cannot be ſupported without bringing home complete cargoes, that is, cargoes of a million or a million and a half of livres * at prime-coſt in India. Where ſhall we find merchants, or even men poſſeſſed of a ſufficient capital to enable them to advance ſuch a ſum, to be

* From 41,666l. 13s. 4d. to 62,500l.

reimburſed

reimburſed only at the end of three years? Undoubtedly there are very few in Europe; and among thoſe who might have the power, ſcarce any would have the will. If we conſult experience, we ſhall find that men of moderate fortunes only are the perſons who are inclined to run great riſques, in order to make great profits. But when once a man is poſſeſſed of an ample fortune, he is inclined to enjoy it, and to enjoy it with ſecurity. The deſire of riches cannot indeed be ſatisfied by the poſſeſſion of them, which, on the contrary, frequently increaſes it; but, at the ſame time, the poſſeſſion of wealth furniſhes various means of gratifying that deſire without either trouble or danger. This opens to our view the neceſſity of entering into aſſociations, where a number of men will not ſcruple to be concerned, becauſe every individual will venture but a ſmall part of his fortune, and will rate the meaſure of his profits upon the united ſtock of the whole ſociety. This neceſſity will appear ſtill more evident, if we conſider how the buſineſs of buying and ſelling is managed in India, and what precautions it requires.

To make a previous agreement for a cargo, above fifty different agents muſt be employed, who are diſperſed in different parts, at the diſtance of three, four, and five hundred leagues from each other. When the work is done, it muſt be examined and meaſured; otherwiſe the goods would ſoon be found faulty, from the want of honeſty in the workmen, who are equally corrupted by the nature of their government, and by the

BOOK V.

the influence of crimes of every kind which the Europeans have ſet them the example of for theſe three centuries paſt.

After all theſe details, there are ſtill other operations remaining equally neceſſary. There muſt be whitſters, men to beat the linens, packers, and bleaching-grounds, which muſt be ſupplied with pools of water fit for the purpoſe. It would certainly be very difficult for individuals to attend and to obſerve all theſe precautions; but even admitting it poſſible for induſtry to effect this, yet it could only be done as long as each of them could keep up a continued trade, and regularly ſhip off freſh cargoes. All theſe particulars are not to be executed in a ſhort time, and not without eſtabliſhed connections. Every private man, therefore, ſhould be able to fit out a ſhip annually during three years, that is, to diſburſe four millions of livres *. This is evidently impoſſible; and it is plain that ſuch an undertaking can only be carried into execution by a ſociety.

But, perhaps, ſome commercial houſes will be eſtabliſhed in India, on purpoſe to tranſact this previous buſineſs, and to keep cargoes in readineſs for the ſhips that are to be ſent off to Europe.

This eſtabliſhment of trading houſes at ſix thouſand leagues from the mother country, with the immenſe ſtock that would be requiſite to pay the weavers in advance, ſeems to be a viſionary ſcheme, inconſiſtent with reaſon and experience. Can it be ſeriouſly imagined that any merchants,

* 166,666l. 13s. 4d.

who

who have already acquired a fortune in Europe, will tranſmit it to Aſia to purchaſe a ſtock of muſlins, in expectation of ſhips that, perhaps, may never arrive, or, if they ſhould, may be but few in number, and may not have a ſufficient capital to purchaſe with? On the contrary, we ſee that every European, who has made a ſmall fortune in India, is deſirous of returning home; and, inſtead of endeavouring to increaſe it by thoſe eaſy methods that private trade and the ſervice of the companies offers in that country, he is rather anxious to come and enjoy it with tranquillity in his own.

If other proofs and examples were neceſſary, we need only attend to what paſſes in America. If we could ſuppoſe that commerce, and the hopes of the profits ariſing from it, were capable of alluring rich Europeans to quit their native country, it would certainly be in order to ſettle in that part of the world which is much nearer than Aſia, and where they would find the ſame laws and manners as in Europe. It might naturally be ſuppoſed that the merchants ſhould previouſly buy up the ſugars of the planters, and keep them in readineſs to be delivered to the European ſhips as ſoon as they arrive, on receiving other commodities in exchange, which they would afterwards ſell to the planters when they wanted them. But it is quite the contrary. The merchants ſettled in America, are nothing more than commiſſaries or factors, who tranſact the exchanges between the planters and the Europeans; and are ſo far from being able to carry on any conſiderable

trade on their own account, that, when a ſhip has not met with an opportunity of diſpoſing of her lading, it is left in truſt, on the account of the owner, in the hands of the commiſſary to whom it was conſigned. It is reaſonable, therefore, to conclude, that what is not practiſed in America would ſtill be leſs ſo in Aſia, where a larger ſtock would be wanted, and greater difficulties muſt be encountered. Add to this, that the ſuppoſed eſtabliſhment of commercial houſes in India would not ſuperſede the neceſſity of forming companies in Europe; becauſe it would be equally neceſſary to diſburſe twelve or fifteen hundred thouſand livres* for the fitting out of every ſhip, which could never return into the ſtock 'till the third year at ſooneſt.

This neceſſity being once proved in every poſſible caſe, it is manifeſt that the trade of India is of ſuch a nature, that very few merchants, if any, can undertake it upon their own capital, or carry it on by themſelves, and without the help of a great number of partners. Having demonſtrated the neceſſity of theſe ſocieties, we muſt now endeavour to prove, that their intereſt and the nature of things would incline them to unite in one and the ſame company.

This propoſition depends upon two principal reaſons: the danger of competition in the purchaſes and ſales, and the neceſſity of aſſortments.

The competition of buyers and ſellers reduces the commodities to their juſt value. When the

* From 50,000l. to 62,500l.

com-

competition of ſellers is greater than that of buyers, the goods ſell for leſs than they are worth; and when there are more buyers than ſellers, their price is raiſed beyond their ordinary value. Let us apply this to the India trade.

When we ſuppoſe that this trade will extend in proportion to the number of private ſhips ſent there, we are not aware that this multiplicity will only increaſe the competition on the ſide of the buyers; whereas it is not in our power to increaſe it on the ſide of the ſellers. It is juſt the ſame as if we were to adviſe a number of traders to bid over one another, in order to obtain their goods at a cheaper rate.

The Indians ſcarce make any conſumption of the produce either of our lands or manufactures. They have few wants, little ambition, and no great ſhare of induſtry. They would readily diſpenſe with the gold and ſilver of America, which is ſo far from procuring them any enjoyments, that it only ſerves to ſupport the tyranny under which they are oppreſſed. Thus, as all objects of exchange have no value but in proportion to the wants or the fancy of the exchangers, it is evident that in India our commodities are worth very little, while thoſe we buy there are of great value. As long as no Indian ſhips come into our harbours to carry away our ſtuffs and our metals, we may venture to affirm, that thoſe people are in no want of us, and will conſequently make their own terms in all their dealings with us. Hence it follows,

BOOK V.

that the greater number there are of European merchants who are concerned in this trade, the more the produce of India will riſe, and our own ſink, in value; and that at laſt it will be only by immenſe exports that we ſhall be able to procure any Indian goods. But if, in conſequence of this order of things, each particular ſociety be obliged to export more money, without bringing home more goods, it's trade muſt be very diſadvantageous, and the ſame competition that began it's ruin in Aſia will complete it in Europe; becauſe the number of ſellers being then greater, while that of buyers ſtill continues the ſame, the ſocieties will be obliged to ſell at a lower price, after having bought at an advanced one.

The article of aſſortments is not of leſs conſequence. By aſſortments is meant the combination of all the ſeveral ſorts of commodities that the different parts of India produce; a combination which is proportioned to the preſent plenty or ſcarcity of each kind of commodity in Europe. On this chiefly depends the ſucceſs and all the profits of the trade. But nothing would be more difficult in the practice for private ſocieties than this aſſortment. How, indeed, ſhould theſe ſmall ſocieties, unconconnected with each other, whoſe intereſt it is to conceal their mutual tranſactions, acquire the knowlege that is requiſite for this important purpoſe? How could they direct ſuch a multitude of agents as muſt be employed? It is plain that the ſupercargoes and commiſ-

ſaries,

faries, incapable of general views, would be all aſking for the ſame ſort of goods at the ſame time, in hopes of making a greater profit. This would of courſe enhance the price of that article in India, and lower it in Europe, to the great detriment of the owners, and of the nation in general.

All theſe conſiderations would certainly be perceived by the captains of ſhips and by the men of property, who would be ſolicited to enter into theſe ſocieties. They would be diſcouraged by the fear of having a competition with other ſocieties, either in the purchaſe, the ſale, or the making up of the aſſortments. The number of theſe ſocieties would ſoon be reduced; and trade, inſtead of extending, would conſtantly decline, and at laſt be entirely loſt.

It would, therefore, be for the intereſt of theſe private ſocieties, as we have before obſerved, to unite together; becauſe then all their agents, both on the coaſt of Coromandel, and on that of Malabar and in Bengal, being united and directed by one conſiſtent ſyſtem, would jointly labour in the ſeveral factories to collect proper aſſortments for the cargoes that were to be ſent away from the chief factory, ſo that the whole ſhould make a complete aſſortment when brought home, being collected upon an uniform plan, and proportioned according to the orders and inſtructions ſent from Europe.

But it would be in vain to expect that any ſuch union could take place without the aſſiſtance

BOOK V.

of government. In ſome caſes, men require to be encouraged; and it is chiefly, as in the preſent inſtance, when they are afraid of being denied that protection which they ſtand in need of, or apprehenſive that favours may be granted to others, which may be injurious to them. Government would find it their intereſt to encourage this aſſociation, as it is certainly the ſureſt, if not the only way, to procure, at the moſt reaſonable prices, the India goods that are wanted for home conſumption, and for exportation. This truth will appear more ſtriking from a very ſimple inſtance.

Let us ſuppoſe a merchant, who freights a ſhip for India with a conſiderable ſtock. Will he commiſſion ſeveral agents at the ſame place to buy the goods he wants? This cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed; becauſe he will be ſenſible, that, each of them endeavouring to execute his orders with as much ſecrecy as poſſible, they would neceſſarily injure one another, and muſt conſequently enhance the price of the goods; ſo that he would have a leſs quantity of the commodity for the ſame ſum than if he had employed but one agent. The application is eaſy; government is the merchant, and the company is the agent.

We have now proved only that in the India trade, the nature of things requires that the ſubjects of one country ſhould unite into one company, both for their own intereſt and for that of the ſtate; but nothing has yet appeared, from whence

whence it can be inferred that this company muſt be an excluſive one. We imagine, on the contrary, that the excluſive privilege always granted to theſe companies depends on particular cauſes, which have no eſſential connection with this trade.

When the ſeveral nations in Europe began to find that it was their intereſt to take a part in the trade of India, which individuals refuſed to do, though none were excluded from it, they found themſelves under a neceſſity of forming companies, and giving them every encouragement that ſo difficult an undertaking required. Capitals were advanced to them; they were inveſted with all the attributes of ſovereign power; permitted to ſend ambaſſadors; and empowered to make peace and war; a fatal privilege which, unfortunately for them and for mankind, they have too often exerciſed. It was found neceſſary at the ſame time to ſecure to them the means of indemnifying themſelves for the expences of ſettlements, which muſt be very conſiderable. This gave riſe to excluſive privileges, which at firſt were granted for a term of years; and afterwards made perpetual, from circumſtances which we ſhall now explain.

The brilliant prerogatives granted to the companies, were, in fact, ſo many impediments to trade. The right of having fortreſſes, implied the neceſſity of building and defending them; that of having troops implied the obligation of paying and recruiting them. It was the ſame with re-

BOOK V.

gard to the permiſſion of ſending ambaſſadors, and concluding treaties with the Indian princes. All theſe privileges were attended with expences merely of parade, fit only to check the progreſs of trade, and to intoxicate the agents and factors ſent by the companies into India, who on their arrival fancied themſelves ſovereigns, and acted accordingly.

Nations, however, found it very convenient to have ſome kind of ſettlements in Aſia, which apparently were attended with no coſt; and as it was reaſonable, while the companies bore all the expences, that all the profits ſhould be ſecured to them, the privileges have been continued. But if the ſeveral nations, inſtead of attending only to this pretended œconomy, which could be but temporary, had extended their views to futurity, and connected all the events which muſt naturally be brought about in the courſe of a number of years; they muſt have foreſeen that the expences of ſovereignty, which can never be aſcertained, becauſe they depend upon numberleſs political contingencies, would in time abſorb both the profits and the ſtock of a trading company; that then the public treaſury muſt be exhauſted, to aſſiſt the chartered company; and that this aſſiſtance, being granted too late, could only remedy the miſchiefs that had already happened, without removing the cauſe of them; ſo that the companies would never riſe to any degree of importance.

But why ſhould not ſtates at length be undeceived? Why ſhould they not take upon themſelves

ſelves a charge which probably belongs to them, and the burden of which, after having cruſhed the companies, muſt finally fall upon them? There would be then no further need of an excluſive privilege. The companies which ſubſiſt at preſent, and are of great importance on account of their old connections and eſtabliſhed credit, would be ſupported with the greateſt care. The appearance of monopoly would vaniſh for ever; and their freedom might enable them to purſue ſome new track, which they could not think of while they were incumbered with the charges annexed to the charter. On the other hand, commerce, being open to all the members of the community, would proſper and flouriſh by their induſtry, new diſcoveries would be attempted, and new enterprizes formed. The trade, from one part of India to another, having the certainty of a market in Europe, would become conſiderable and extenſive. The companies, attentive to theſe improvements, would regulate their dealings by the ſucceſs of private trade; and this emulation, which would not be injurious to any individual, would be beneficial to the ſeveral ſtates.

We apprehend this ſyſtem would tend to reconcile all intereſts, and would be conſiſtent with all principles. It ſeems to be liable to no reaſonable objection, either on the part of the advocates for the excluſive charter, or of thoſe who contend for a free trade.

If the former ſhould aſſert, that the companies, without the excluſive charter, would have but a precarious

BOOK V.

precarious exiſtence, and would ſoon be ruined by private traders; I ſhould anſwer them, that they were not ſincere, when they affirmed that private trade could never ſucceed. For, if it could poſſibly occaſion the ruin of that of the companies, as they now pretend, it can only effect this by engroſſing every branch of their trade againſt their will, by a ſuperiority of powers, and by the aſcendent of liberty. Beſides, what is it that really conſtitutes our companies? It is their ſtock, their ſhips, their factories, or their excluſive charter. What is it that has always ruined them? Extravagant expences, abuſes of every kind, viſionary undertakings; in a word, bad adminiſtration, far more deſtructive than competition. But if the diſtribution of their powers be made with prudence and œconomy, if the ſpirit of property direct their operations, there is no obſtacle which they cannot ſurmount, no ſucceſs which they may not expect.

But would not this ſucceſs give umbrage to the advocates for freedom? Would they not in their turn urge, that thoſe rich and powerful companies would alarm private men, and in ſome meaſure deſtroy that general and abſolute freedom which is ſo neceſſary to trade?

We ſhould not be ſurpriſed at this objection from them; for men, both in their actions and opinions, are more commonly guided by ſyſtem than by facts. I do not except from this error the greateſt part of our writers upon revenue. Commercial and civil liberty are the two tutelar deities

deities of mankind, which we all reverence as well as they. But, that we may not be influenced by mere words, let us attend to the idea they are meant to convey. Let us aſk thoſe enthuſiaſts for liberty, what they would wiſh; whether they would have the laws entirely aboliſh thoſe ancient companies, that every citizen might freely partake of this trade, and ſhould equally have the ſame means of procuring the enjoyments of life, and the ſame reſources to raiſe a fortune? But if ſuch laws, with all their appearance of liberty, are in fact totally excluſive, let us not be induced by this falſe reaſoning to adopt them. When the ſtate allows all it's members to carry on a trade that requires a large ſtock, and which conſequently very few are able to undertake; I would aſk, what advantage ariſes to the people in general from this regulation? It ſeems as if one meant to laugh at their credulity, in permitting them to undertake what they cannot execute. If the companies ſhould be totally ſuppreſſed, there will be no India trade, or it will be only carried on by a few capital merchants.

I WILL go further ſtill, and, waving the conſideration of the excluſive charter, venture to affirm that the India companies, from the nature of their formation, have given opportunities to ſeveral people to become ſharers in their trade, who would otherwiſe never have been concerned in it. Let us take a review of the number of perſons, in all ſtations, and of all ages, that are proprietors, and partake of the profits of the trade, and it muſt

BOOK V.

muſt be owned, that it would have been far more circumſcribed if it had been in private hands; that the formation of companies has only diffuſed while it ſeemed to reſtrain it; and that the moderate price of the ſhares muſt be a powerful motive to the people, to wiſh for the preſervation of an eſtabliſhment, which opens to them a track from which they would for ever have been excluded by a free trade.

We believe, indeed, that both companies and private men might equally ſucceed without injuring one another, or creating any mutual jealouſies. The companies might ſtill purſue thoſe great objects, which, by their nature and extent, can only be managed by a wealthy and powerful aſſociation. Private men, on the contrary, would confine themſelves to ſuch objects as are ſcarcely attended to by a great company, but might, by proper œconomy, and the combination of many ſmall fortunes, become a ſource of riches to them.

Statesmen, who by their talents are called to the direction of public affairs, muſt determine this point, and rectify the ideas of an obſcure citizen, who may have been miſled by his want of experience. The ſyſtem of politics cannot too ſoon nor too deeply be applied to regulate a trade which ſo eſſentially concerns the fate of nations, and will probably always be an object of the greateſt importance.

To put an end to all intercourſe between Europe and India, that luxury, which has made ſuch rapid progreſs in our part of the world, ſhould be baniſhed

niſhed from every ſtate. Our effeminacy ſhould not create a thouſand wants unknow'n to our forefathers. The rivalſhip of trade ſhould no longer agitate the ſeveral nations who vie with each other in amaſſing riches. Such a revolution ſhould take place in the manners, cuſtoms, and opinions of men, as is never likely to happen. Our actions ſhould be regulated according to the principles of nature, which we ſeem to have abandoned for ever.

Such are the laſt reflections ſuggeſted to us with reſpect to the connections of Europe with Aſia: let us now turn our thoughts to America.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

Discovery of America. Conquest of Mexico; and settlements of the Spaniards in that part of the New World.

BOOK VI.

Parallel of antient and modern history.

ANCIENT history presents a magnificent scene to our view. The successive representation of great revolutions, heroic manners, and extraordinary events, will become more and more interesting, the more uncommon it is to meet with incidents that bear any resemblance to them. The period of founding and of subverting empires is past. The man, before whom *the world was silent*, is no more. The several nations of the earth, after repeated shocks, after all the struggles between ambition and liberty, seem at length totally reconciled with the wretched tranquillity of servitude. Battles are now fought with cannon, for the purpose of taking a few towns, and of gratifying the caprices of a few powerful men: formerly they were fought with the sword, in order to overthrow and to establish kingdoms, or to avenge the natural rights of mankind. The history of the world is become insipid and trifling; and yet men are not become more happy. A regular and constant system of oppression has succeeded to the tumults and storms of conquest; and we behold, with a degree of indifference, the various ranks of slaves assassinating each

MAP
of the
European Settlements
in
MEXICO or NEW SPAIN
and the
WEST INDIES.
By Thos Kitchin Senr
Hydrogr to his Majesty.
Longitude West from Ferro
MEXICO
NEW SPAIN
GULF of MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Great Space of Land unknown
Canecis
Quirriches
Akanzas
Chickasaws
Alibamous
Chactaws
Texas
Cana tinos
Apacheria
Apaches of 7 Rivers
Pimeria
Janos
Zopas
NEW NAVARRE
SONORA
CINALOA
CUATIMA
NEW BISCAY
NEW KINGD. OF LEON
PANUCO
GUASTECA
MECHOACAN
TASCALA
MEXICO
GUAXACA
TABASCO
CHIAPA
HONDURAS
YUCATAN
CAMPECHY
CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
LUCAYO OR BAHAMA ISLANDS
JAMAICA
HISPANIOLA
GREAT ANTILLES
LIT. ANTILLES
VIRGIN Is.
TIERRA FIRMA
SOUTH AMERICA
Tropic of Cancer
Bermudas Is.
Nigoras
Humanas de Tompires
Apaches
Casa Grande
Marco
Terciate
Janos
Opata
Seris
Cinaloa
Sonora
Topia
Durango
Guadiana
Zacatecas
Rio Verde
Panuco or Tampico
Guanaxuato
Compostella
Guadalaxara
Salamanca
Mechoacan
Tasco
Acapulco
Zacatula
Tlascala
Mexico
Guaxaca
Tabasco
Ciudad Real
Chiapa de los Indios
Bay of Tehuantepec
Guatimala
Suchitepec
Soconusco or Trinidad
Yucatan
Campeachy
Bay of Campeachy
Merida
Valladolid
Tabasco
Honduras
Truxillo
Comayagua
Valladolid
Nicaragua
Lake Nicaragua
Granada
Costa Rica
Veragua
Panama
Gulf of Panama
Darien
Cartagena
Maracaibo
Lake Maracaibo
Venezuela
Coro or Venezuela
Curazao
Aruba
Bonaire
Orchilla
Blanca
Margarita
Tortugas
Tobago
Trinidad
Gulf of Trinidad
Barbados
Bridgetown
Grenada
St Vincent
Martinique
Guadaloupe
Antigua
Montserrat
Nevis
St Christophers
Barbuda
Dominica
Marygalante
Avis
Porto Rico
St Domingo
Jamaica
Cuba
Havana
Florida
Cape Florida
Lucayo I
Bahama I
Harbor I
Alabaster or Eleuthera I
Guanahani now Cat I
Long I
Crooked I
Maguana I
North Keys
Viso I
Turks I
Mouchoir
Inagua
Caicos
Matthew Town
Great Caymon
Lit. Caymon
Bay of Honduras
Ascension B
Santanilla
Bonacca
Roatan
Utila
Rattan
Guanaxa
Black R
Cape Gracias a Dios
Serrana
Roncador
Serranilla
Bajo Novo
Bajo del Combai
Velabank
Providence
Carolina
Cape Fear
Cape Hatteras
Roanoke I
Roanoke R
Albemarle Sd
Pamlico Sd
Charles Town
Port Royal
Savannah
Augusta
Ebenezer
Frederica
St William
Augustine
Matanzas I
St Mark
St Matthew
Apalachee B
Cape St Martin
Cape Canaveral
Gulf of Florida
Juan Ponce
Bahama I
Bimini
Lucayo I
Tropic of Cancer
Gulf of Mexico
Pacific Ocean
South Sea
Atlantic Ocean
North Sea
Longitude West from Ferro

each other with their chains, for the amuſement of their maſters.

EUROPE, that part of the globe which has moſt influence over the reſt, ſeems to have fixed itſelf on a ſolid and durable foundation. It is compoſed of communities that are almoſt equally powerful, enlightened, extenſive, and jealous. They will incroach perpetually upon each other; and, in the midſt of this continued fluctuation, ſome will be extended, others more limited, and the balance will alternately incline to different ſides, without ever being entirely deſtroyed. The fanaticiſm of religion, and the ſpirit of conqueſt, thoſe two diſturbers of the univerſe, operate no longer as they have done. That ſacred lever, whoſe extremity was attached to the earth, and whoſe center of motion was in heaven, is now broken, or much weakened: and kings begin to diſcover, not for the happineſs of their people, which concerns them little, but for their own private intereſt, that the object of the firſt importance is to obtain riches and ſecurity. Hence large armies are kept up, frontiers are fortified, and trade is encouraged.

A SPIRIT of barter and exchange hath ariſen in Europe, that ſeems to open a vaſt ſcene of ſpeculation to individuals, but is only conſiſtent with peace and tranquillity. A war, among commercial nations, is a conflagration that deſtroys them all. The time is not far off, when the ſanction of government will extend to the private engagements between ſubjects of different nations; and when thoſe bankruptcies, the effects

BOOK VI.

of which are felt at immenſe diſtances, will become concerns of government. In theſe mercantile ſtates, the diſcovery of an iſland, the importation of a new commodity, the invention of ſome uſeful machine, the conſtruction of a port, the eſtabliſhment of a factory, the carrying off a branch of trade from a rival nation, will all become tranſactions of the utmoſt importance; and the annals of nations muſt hereafter be written by commercial philoſophers, as they were formerly by hiſtorical orators.

The diſcovery of a new world was alone ſufficient to furniſh matter for our curioſity. A vaſt continent, entirely uncultivated, human nature reduced to the mere animal ſtate, fields without harveſts, treaſures without proprietors, ſocieties without policy, and men without manners, what an intereſting and inſtructive ſpectacle would theſe have formed for a Locke, a Buffon, or a Monteſquieu! What could have been ſo aſtoniſhing, ſo affecting, as an account of their voyage! But the image of rude unpoliſhed nature is already disfigured. We ſhall endeavour to collect the features of it, though now half effaced, as ſoon as we have deſcribed, and delivered up to the execration of poſterity, thoſe rapacious and cruel Chriſtians, whom chance unfortunately conducted to this other hemiſphere.

Antient revolutions of Spain.

Spain, which was know'n in the earlieſt ages under the names of Heſperia and Iberia, was inhabited by people, who, defended on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by the Pyrenees, enjoyed in peace an agreeable climate and a fruitful country,

country, and who governed themſelves according to their own cuſtoms. The ſouthern part of this nation had in ſome degree emerged from it's ſtate of barbariſm, by ſome trifling connections it had formed with foreigners; but the inhabitants on the coaſts of the ocean reſembled all thoſe nations which know no other occupation but that of the chace. They were ſo much attached to this kind of life, that they left the toils of agriculture to their wives; the fatigues of which they had encouraged them to ſupport by eſtabliſhing general aſſemblies annually, in which thoſe women, who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the labours of agriculture, received public applauſe.

Here we have an inſtance of the weaker ſex being employed in the moſt laborious occupations of life, either ſavage or civilized; the young girl, holding in her delicate hands the inſtrument of huſbandry; and her mother, perhaps with child of a ſecond or third infant, bending her body over the plough, and thruſting the plough-ſhare or the ſpade into the boſom of the earth during the moſt exceſſive heats. If I am not deceived, this phœnomenon will appear to a man who reflects, one of the moſt aſtoniſhing that occurs in the ſingular annals of our ſpecies. It would be difficult to find a more ſtriking example of what reſpect for national cuſtoms can effect; for there is leſs heroiſm in expoſing one's life, than in devoting it to conſtant fatigue. But if ſuch be the power of men collected together over the minds of women, how much greater would that of wo-

BOOK VI.

men, in a collective body, be over the hearts of men?

Such was the situation of Spain, when the Carthaginians turned their rapacious views upon a country filled with riches, which were unknown to it's inhabitants. These merchants, whose ships covered the Mediterranean, introduced themselves as friends, who came to barter several articles of convenience against metals that were thought to be useless. The temptations of a trade so advantageous in appearance, seduced the Spaniards so powerfully, that they permitted these republicans to build upon their coasts houses for their occasional residence, magazines for the security of their merchandize, and temples for the exercise of their religion. These establishments insensibly became fortified places, of which this power, whose policy was superior to it's military skill, availed itself to enslave a credulous people, who were always divided among themselves, and always irreconcileable in their enmities. By bribing some, and intimidating others, Carthage succeeded in subduing Spain, and even effected this with Spanish soldiers and Spanish wealth.

When the Carthaginians were become masters of the most extensive and most valuable part of this fine country, they seemed either to be ignorant of the means of establishing their dominion there, or to neglect them. Instead of continuing to appropriate to themselves the gold and silver, with which the conquered nations were abundantly

dantly ſupplied from their mines, by exchanging commodities of little value for thoſe metals, they choſe to ſeize them by force. Nor was this ſpirit of tyranny confined to the body of the republic; it alſo influenced the generals, the officers, the private men, and even the merchants. The violence of theſe proceedings threw the conquered provinces into a ſtate of deſpair, and excited in thoſe which were yet free, an extreme averſion for ſo intolerable a yoke. In this ſituation they all of them reſolved to accept of aſſiſtance, as fatal to them as their misfortunes were oppreſſive. Spain became a theatre of jealouſy, ambition, and hatred, between Rome and Carthage.

The two commonwealths contended with great obſtinacy for the empire of this beautiful part of Europe; and, perhaps, it would finally have belonged to neither of them, if the Spaniards had continued quiet ſpectators of the conteſt, and left the rival nations time to deſtroy each other. But they choſe to become actors in the bloody ſcene, and thus reduced themſelves to be ſlaves to the Romans; in which ſtate they remained till the fifth century.

In a ſhort time the degeneracy of thoſe maſters of the world, inſpired the ſavage nations of the north with the enterprizing idea of invading the provinces that were ill-governed and ill-defended. The Suevi, the Alani, the Vandals, and the Goths, paſſed the Pyrenean mountains. Theſe barbarians, being robbers by profeſſion, were incapable of becoming citizens, and made war upon each other. The Goths, ſuperior in abilities or good

BOOK VI.

fortune, ſubdued the reſt, and reduced all the kingdoms of Spain into one; which, notwithſtanding the defects in it's conſtitution, and the unbounded extortions of the Jews, who were the only merchants, ſupported itſelf 'till the commencement of the eighth century.

At this period, the Moors, who had ſubdued Africa with that impetuoſity which was the characteriſtic of all their enterprizes, croſſed the ſea. They found in Spain a king deſtitute of virtue and abilities; a multitude of courtiers, and no ſtateſmen; ſoldiers devoid of courage, and generals without experience; an effeminate people, holdinng the government in contempt, and diſpoſed to change their maſter; and they alſo found rebels, who joined them for the ſake of plundering, burning, and maſſacring all that oppoſed them. In leſs than three years, the ſovereignty of the Chriſtians was deſtroyed, and that of the infidels eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid foundation.

Spain was indebted to it's conquerors for the firſt principles of taſte, humanity, politeneſs, and philoſophy; as alſo for introducing into the country ſeveral arts, and a conſiderable trade. Theſe brilliant proſpects were not of long duration. They were ſoon diſſipated by the numberleſs ſects that aroſe among the conquerors, and the irreparable fault they committed in eſtabliſhing diſtinct ſovereigns in all the principal towns of their dominions.

During this time, the Goths, who, to ſcreen themſelves from the power of the Mohammedans, had ſought an aſylum in the extremity of the Aſturias,

rias, were labouring under the yoke of anarchy, plunged in a barbarous ſtate of ignorance, oppreſſed by their fanatical prieſts, languiſhing under inexpreſſible poverty, and perpetually haraſſed by civil wars. Under the influence of theſe calamities, far from thinking to avail themſelves of the diviſions ſubſiſting among their enemies, they were ſufficiently happy in being forgotten, or in not being know'n by them. But as ſoon as the crown, which was originally elective, became hereditary in the tenth century; as ſoon as the nobility and biſhops became incapable of diſturbing the ſtate; and that the people, raiſed from ſlavery, were admitted to a ſhare of the government; the national ſpirit began to revive. The Arabians, attacked on every ſide, were ſucceſſively ſtripped of their conqueſts; and at the end of the fifteenth century they had but one little kingdom remaining.

THEIR fall would have been more rapid, had they engaged with a power that could have united, in one common center, the conqueſts it gained over them. But the revolution was not effected in this manner. The Mohammedans were attacked by different chiefs, each of which was at the head of a diſtinct ſtate. Spain was divided into as many kingdoms as it contained provinces: and it was not till after a long time, ſeveral ſucceſſions, wars, and revolutions, that theſe ſmall ſtates were at laſt united in the two monarchies of Caſtile and Arragon. At length, the marriage of Iſabella with Ferdinand having happily joined all the crowns of Spain into one family, they

BOOK VI.

found themſelves equal to the enterprize of attacking the kingdom of Granada.

THIS ſtate, which ſcarcely occupied one-eighth part of the peninſula of Spain, had always been in a flouriſhing condition from the time of the invaſion of the Saracens; but it's proſperity had increaſed in proportion as the ſucceſſes of the Chriſtians had induced a greater number of infidels to take refuge there. It conſiſted of three millions of inhabitants. Throughout the reſt of Europe there were no lands ſo well cultivated; manufactures ſo numerous and improved; ſo regular and ſo extenſive a navigation. The public revenues amounted to ſeven millions of livres*; a prodigious ſum at a time when gold and ſilver were very ſcarce.

THESE ſeveral advantages, far from deterring the monarchs of Caſtile and Arragon from invading Granada, were the motives that principally urged them to the enterprize. They were obliged to carry on a ten years bloody war, in order to ſubdue this flouriſhing province. The conqueſt of it was completed by the ſurrender of the capital in the beginning of January, 1492.

Columbus forms the deſign of diſcovering America.

IT was in theſe glorious circumſtances, that Chriſtopher Columbus, a man of obſcure birth, whoſe knowlege of aſtronomy and navigation was far ſuperior to that of his cotemporaries, propoſed to the Spaniards, who were happy at home, to aggrandize themſelves abroad. He was led by a ſecret impulſe to imagine that another continent

* 291,666l. 13s. 4d.

certainly

certainly exiſted, and that he was the perſon deſtined to diſcover it. The idea of Antipodes, which ſuperſtition had condemned as heretical and impious, and reaſon itſelf had treated as chimerical, appeared to this penetrating genius to have it's foundation in truth. This idea, perhaps the greateſt that ever entered into the human mind, took ſtrong poſſeſſion of his imagination; and, having in vain propoſed the acquiſition of a new hemiſphere to his native country Genoa, to Portugal, where he then reſided, and even to England, which he might have expected would readily have concurred in any maritime enterprize, he at laſt communicated his views and his projects to Iſabella.

The miniſters of this princeſs, who looked upon the ſcheme of diſcovering a new world as the offspring of a diſtempered brain, treated the author of it for ſome time with thoſe airs of contemptuous inſolence, which men in office often put on with thoſe who have nothing but genius to recommend them. But Columbus was not to be diſcouraged by any difficulties; he poſſeſſed, as all men do who engage in extraordinary enterprizes, a degree of enthuſiaſm, which renders them ſuperior to the cavils of the ignorant, the contempt of the proud, the mean arts of the covetous, and the delays of the indolent. At length, by perſeverance, ſpirit, and courage, joined to the arts of prudence and management, he ſurmounted every obſtacle. Having obtained three ſmall veſſels, and ninety men, he ſet ſail on the third of Auguſt 1492, with the title of admiral

BOOK VI.

and viceroy of the iſlands and territories he ſhould diſcover, and arrived at the Canaries, where it was his intention to caſt anchor.

Columbus ſails firſt towards the Canaries. Deſcription of theſe iſlands.

THESE iſlands, ſituated at the diſtance of five hundred miles from the coaſts of Spain, and of a hundred miles from the continent of Africa, are ſeven in number. They were know'n to the Antients by the name of the Fortunate Iſlands. It was at the moſt weſtern part of this ſmall Archipelago that the celebrated Ptolemy, who lived in the ſecond century of the Chriſtian æra, eſtabliſhed a firſt meridian; from whence he computed the longitudes of all the places, the geographical poſition of which he determined. According to the judicious remark of three French aſtronomers, who have publiſhed ſo curious and ſo inſtructive an account of a voyage in 1771 and 1772, he might have choſen Alexandria for this purpoſe; but he was apprehenſive, without doubt, that this predilection for his country might be imitated by others, and that ſome confuſion might ariſe from theſe variations. The plan which this philoſopher adopted, of taking for his firſt meridian, that which appeared to leave to the eaſt of it all the part of the world then know'n, was generally approved, and followed for ſeveral centuries. It is only in modern times, that ſeveral nations have improperly ſubſtituted to this meridian, that of the capital of their own empire.

THE habit that had been contracted of repeating the name of the Fortunate Iſlands, did not prevent them from being totally neglected. Some navigators

navigators had certainly reconnoitred anew theſe pagan territories, ſince, in 1344, the court of Rome gave the property of them to Louis de la Cerda, one of the Infants of Caſtile. Obſtinately thwarted by the head of his family, this prince had never yet been able to avail himſelf of this extraordinary liberality, when Béthencourt went from Rochelle, on the 6th of May 1402, and two months after, ſeized upon Lancerota. It being impoſſible for him to proceed any farther with the forces he had remaining, this adventurer determined to pay homage to the king of Caſtile of all the conqueſts he ſhould make. With the ſuccours furniſhed him by this monarch, he ſeized upon Fuerteventura in 1404, upon Gomera in 1405, and upon the iſle of Ferro in 1406. Canary, Palma, and Teneriffe, did not ſubmit till 1483, 1492, and 1496. This Archipelago, by the name of the Canary Iſlands, has ever ſince made part of the Spaniſh dominions, and has been governed by the laws of Caſtile.

The Canaries enjoy the advantage of a ſky that is generally ſerene. The heat is great on the coaſts; but the air is agreeably temperate upon the places that are a little higher; and too cold upon ſome of the mountains that are covered with ſnow the greateſt part of the year.

All, or nearly all the fruits and animals of the Old and of the New World, thrive upon the different kinds of ſoil in theſe iſlands. They furniſh oils, ſome ſilk, a great deal of perella*, and a conſiderable quantity of ſugar, inferior to

* A fungous ſubſtance from which a red dye is extracted.

that

that which comes from America. The corn they ſupply, is moſt commonly ſufficient for the conſumption of the country; and, without mentioning liquors of an inferior kind, their exports in wine amount annually to ten or twelve thouſand pipes of malmſey.

In 1768, the Canaries reckoned one hundred and fifty-five thouſand one hundred and ſixty-ſix inhabitants, excluſive of five hundred and eight clergy, nine hundred and twenty-two monks, and ſeven hundred and forty-ſix nuns. Twenty-nine thouſand eight hundred of theſe inhabitants were embodied into a regiment. Theſe militia were nothing at that period; but they have ſince been a little diſciplined, as well as all the troops in the other Spaniſh colonies.

Although the audience, or ſuperior tribunal of juſtice be in the iſland particularly called Canary, yet the iſland of Teneriffe, which is know'n by it's volcanos, and by a mountain which, according to the lateſt and beſt obſervations, riſes one thouſand nine hundred and four toiſes above the level of the ſea, is conſidered as the capital of the Archipelago. It is the moſt extenſive, the richeſt, and the moſt populous. It is the reſidence of the governor-general, and the ſeat of adminiſtration. The traders, who are almoſt all Engliſh or Americans, make their purchaſes in it's harbour of Sainte Croix, and take in their cargoes there.

The money which theſe merchants bring to the iſlands, ſeldom circulates in them. It is not carried off by the imports, ſince they conſiſt only in the monopoly of tobacco, and a tax of ſix per cent.

cent. on all exports and imports: inconſiderable reſources, which muſt be abſorbed by the expences of ſovereignty. If the Canaries ſend annually fifteen or ſixteen hundred thouſand livres * to the mother-country, it is for the ſuperſtition of the cruſades: it is for one half of the firſt year's ſalaries paid to the crown, by thoſe who have obtained any poſt under government: it is for the *droit des lances*, ſubſtituted throughout the whole empire, to the obligation formerly impoſed upon all titled perſons, of following the king to war: it is for one third of the revenue of the biſhoprics, which, in whatever part of the world they may be, belongs to the government: it is for the produce of the lands acquired or preſerved by ſome families reſiding in Spain: in a word, it is to defray the expences of thoſe, who by a reſtleſs diſpoſition, ambition, or the deſire of acquiring knowlege, are prompted to quit the Archipelago.

So conſiderable an exportation of ſpecie has kept the Canaries conſtantly exhauſted. They would have emerged from this ſituation, had they been ſuffered peaceably to enjoy the liberty which, in 1657, was granted them, of fitting out every year for the other hemiſphere, five ſhips laden with a thouſand tons of proviſions or merchandize. Unfortunately, the reſtraints put upon this trade at Cadiz, gradually reduced it to the ſending of one very ſmall veſſel to Caracca. This tyranny is drawing to an end; and we ſhall ſpeak

* From 62,500l. to 66,666l. 13s. 4d.

of

BOOK VI.

of it's decline, after we have accompanied Columbus to the great ſcene upon which his genius and courage are going to be diſplayed.

On the ſixth of September, the admiral quitted Gomera, where his too feeble veſſels had been repaired, and his proviſions renewed: he then abandoned the track purſued by preceding navigators; and directed his courſe weſtward, in order to get into an unknow'n ocean.

In a little time, the ſhip's crews, terrified at the idea of the immenſe tract of ſea that ſeparated them from their native country, began to expreſs their fears. They murmured, and the moſt violent of the mutineers propoſed ſeveral times that they ſhould throw the author of their danger overboard. His moſt zealous adherents were even without hope; and he had now nothing to expect either from ſeverity or mildneſs. The admiral then ſpake to them in the following terms: *If the land does not appear in three days time, I give myſelf up to your reſentment.* The ſpeech was bold, but not raſh.

For ſome time paſt, on ſounding, he had found a bottom, and from other circumſtances, which are ſeldom deceitful, he had reaſon to conclude that he was not far from the object of his purſuit.

Arrival of Columbus in the New World.

The New World was diſcovered in the month of October. Columbus landed on one of the Lucayas, or Bahama iſlands, which he called San-Salvador, and took poſſeſſion of it in the name of Iſabella. No European at that time imagined that

that there could be any injuſtice in ſeizing upon a country which was not inhabited by Chriſtians.

THE iſlanders on ſeeing the ſhips, and a race of men ſo different from themſelves, were terrified, and ran away. The Spaniards caught ſome of them, treated them with great civility, and diſmiſſed them loaded with preſents.

THIS behaviour entirely diſſipated the fears of the whole nation: the inhabitants appeared upon the ſhore without arms. Several of them came on board. They viewed every thing with admiration. Their manners were free and open. They brought fruits. They aſſiſted the Spaniards in getting on ſhore, by taking them upon their ſhoulders. The inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands ſhewed the ſame obliging diſpoſition. The ſailors, ſent by Columbus to make diſcoveries, every where met with the kindeſt reception. Men, women, and children, were employed in procuring proviſions for them. They filled the hammocks where they ſlept with the fineſt cotton.

TELL me, reader, whether theſe were civilized people landing among ſavages, or ſavages among civilized people? Of what conſequence was it that they were naked; that they dwelt in the midſt of the foreſts, and lived under huts; that there was neither a code of laws among them, nor civil or criminal juſtice, provided they were mild, humane, beneficent, and poſſeſſed all the virtues that diſtinguiſh the human ſpecies? Alas! people with the ſame behaviour would have met with the ſame reception every where. Let us

 forget,

BOOK VI.

forget, if it be poſſible, the inſtant of this diſcovery, this firſt interview between two worlds, or rather let us recall it to our memory, only to increaſe our deteſtation of the one we inhabit.

But it was gold the Spaniards wanted, and they ſoon found it. Several of the ſavages wore ornaments made of this precious metal, which they preſented to their new gueſts; who on their part were more diſguſted with the naked appearance and ſimplicity of theſe people, than touched with their kindneſs. They were incapable of diſcerning in them the genuine characters of nature. Surpriſed to find men of a copper colour without beards or hair on their bodies, they looked upon them as a race of imperfect animals, who were only to be treated with humanity, till the neceſſary information was obtained in regard to the neighbouring countries, and the ſeat of the gold mines.

The Spaniards make their firſt ſettlement in America at St. Domingo. Manners of the inhabitants of this iſland.

Having taken a view of ſeveral ſmaller iſlands, Columbus landed on the north ſide of a large one called by the natives Hayti; to which he gave the name of Hiſpaniola, and which is now called San Domingo; he was conducted thither by ſome ſavages of the other iſlands, who accompanied him without the leaſt diſtruſt, and gave him to underſtand, that it was the great iſland which furniſhed them with the metal the Spaniards were ſo eager to acquire.

The iſland of Hayti, which is two hundred leagues in length, and ſixty, and in ſome places eighty, in breadth, is divided from eaſt to weſt by a chain of mountains, which occupy the cen-

ter

ter of the iſland, and are for the moſt part ſteep. It was diſtributed into five populous kingdoms, the inhabitants of which lived in perfect amity. Their kings, who were called Caciques, were ſo much the more abſolute, as they were much beloved. The complexion of theſe people was much fairer than that of thoſe in the other iſlands. They painted their bodies. The men went quite naked. The women wore a kind of cotton petticoat, which reached no further than their knees. The girls, as well as the men, were naked. Their food was maize, roots, fruit, and ſhell-fiſh. As they were temperate, nimble, and active, but not ſtrong, they were averſe from labour. They lived free from care in a ſtate of agreeable indolence. Their time was ſpent in dancing, diverſion, and ſleep. By the accounts the Spaniards give of them, they ſhewed little marks of underſtanding; and indeed iſlanders, who live in a ſtate of ſeparation from the reſt of mankind, muſt of neceſſity have very confined ideas. Detached ſocieties arrive at improvement by ſlow and difficult advances. They derive no advantages from thoſe diſcoveries, which time and experience throw in the way of other people: neither do the chances of acquiring knowlege occur ſo frequently among them.

The Spaniards themſelves confeſs, that theſe people were humane, void of malice and revenge, and almoſt diveſted of any paſſion whatever. They were ignorant, but ſhewed no deſire of being informed. This indifference, and the confidence they repoſed in ſtrangers, prove that they were happy.

§ Their

BOOK VI.

Their hiſtory, and their notions of morality, were contained in a collection of ſongs, which they learn from their infancy; and they had, in common with all nations, ſome fables concerning the origin of the human race.

We know little of their religion, to which they were not much attached; and it is probable that in this reſpect, as well as in many others, they have been calumniated by the authors of their deſtruction; who pretend that theſe iſlanders, whoſe manners were ſo gentle, paid adoration to a number of malevolent beings. The worſhippers of a malevolent deity can never be good themſelves. But of what conſequence were their deities or their mode of worſhip? Did they queſtion the ſtrangers upon the ſubject of their religion? Or was their belief a motive of curioſity, hatred, or contempt for them? They were the Europeans, who conducted themſelves as if they had been adviſed by the dæmon of the iſlanders; and the iſlanders behaved as if they had obeyed the Deity of the Europeans.

They had no law that limited the number of their wives. It was common for one of them to have ſome privileges and diſtinctions allotted to her; but theſe gave her no authority over the reſt. She was the one whom the huſband loved the beſt, and by whom he thought himſelf beſt beloved. On the death of her huſband, ſhe ſometimes cauſed herſelf to be buried in the ſame grave with him. This was not a cuſtom, a duty, or a point of honour, among theſe people; but the wife found it impoſſible to ſurvive the object of her

her tendereſt affection. This freedom in love and marriage, which was authorized by their laws and manners, was by the Spaniards called debauchery, licentiouſneſs, and vice: and to the pretended exceſſive indulgence of the iſlanders in this particular, they attributed the origin of a diſgraceful and deſtructive diſeaſe, which is generally thought to have been unknow'n in Europe before the diſcovery of America.

These iſlanders had no other weapon than a bow and arrows made of wood, the point of which being hardened in the fire was ſometimes armed with ſharp ſtones, or the bone of a fiſh. The ordinary dreſs of the Spaniards was of itſelf an impenetrable armour againſt arrows of this kind, ſhot with little dexterity. Theſe weapons and ſome ſmall clubs, or rather large ſticks, which could ſeldom give a mortal blow, were far from making theſe people formidable.

They were diſtinguiſhed into different claſſes, one of which had a claim to a kind of nobility; but we are little acquainted either with the prerogatives annexed to this diſtinction, or with the means of obtaining it. This ignorant and ſavage people had alſo ſorcerers among them, who have always been either the offspring or parents of ſuperſtition.

Columbus omitted no attention that might engage the friendſhip of theſe iſlanders. But at the ſame time he made them ſenſible, that, though he had no inclination to hurt them, he did not want the power. The proofs he gave in their preſence of the ſurpriſing effects of his artillery, convinced

them of the truth of what he ſaid. They looked upon the Spaniards as men deſcended from heaven; and the preſents they received, were, in their eſtimation, not mere curioſities, but ſacred things. This error was productive of great advantages; nor was it removed by any act of folly or cruelty. They gave the ſavages red caps, glaſs beads, pins, knives, and bells, and received in return gold and proviſions.

Columbus availed himſelf of this harmony to fix upon a place for a ſettlement, which he deſigned ſhould be the center of all his future projects. He erected a fort with the aſſiſtance of the iſlanders, who cheerfully laboured to forge chains for themſelves. He left thirty-nine Caſtilians in the place; and, having reconnoitred the greateſt part of the iſland, ſet ſail for Spain.

He arrived at Palos, a port of Andaluſia, from whence he had ſailed ſeven months before. He proceeded by land to Barcelona, where the court reſided. This journey was a triumph. The nobility and the people went to meet him, and followed him in crowds to the preſence of Ferdinand and Iſabella. He preſented to them ſome iſlanders, who had voluntarily accompanied him. He produced pieces of gold, birds, cotton, and many curioſities, which were valuable on account of their novelty. Such a variety of uncommon objects, expoſed to the view of a people whoſe vanity inflamed by imagination magnified every thing, made them fancy that they ſaw an inexhauſtible ſource of riches for ever flowing into their country. The enthuſiaſm ſpread, and

reached

reached even to the throne. At the public audience the ſovereigns gave to Columbus, he was permitted to be covered, and to ſit as a grandee of Spain. He related his voyage to them. They loaded him with careſſes, commendations, and honours; and ſoon after he reimbarked with ſeventeen ſail, to make new diſcoveries, and to eſtabliſh colonies.

On his arrival at San Domingo with fifteen hundred men, ſoldiers, artificers, and miſſionaries; with proviſions for their ſubſiſtence; with the ſeeds of all the plants that were thought likely to thrive in this hot and damp climate; and with the domeſtic animals of the old hemiſphere, of which there was not one in the new one, Columbus found nothing but ruins and carcaſes upon the ſpot where he had left fortifications and Spaniards. Theſe plunderers had occaſioned their own deſtruction by their haughty, licentious, and tyrannical behaviour; and he had the addreſs to perſuade thoſe who had leſs moderation than himſelf, that it was good policy to poſtpone their revenge to another time. A fort, honoured with the name of Iſabella, was conſtructed on the borders of the ocean; and that of Saint Thomas was erected on the mountains of Cibao, where the iſlanders gathered from the torrents, the greateſt part of the gold they uſed for their ornaments, and where the conquerors intended to open mines.

While theſe works were carrying on, the proviſions that had been brought from Europe had been either conſumed or were ſpoilt. The colony had

BOOK VI.

not received freſh ones enough to ſupply the deficiency; and ſoldiers, or ſailors, had neither had any leiſure, knowlege, or inclination enough to produce freſh articles of ſubſiſtence. It became neceſſary to have recourſe to the natives of the country, who cultivating but little, were unable to ſubſiſt ſtrangers, who, though they were the moſt moderate perſons of the old hemiſphere, yet conſumed each of them as much as would have been ſufficient for ſeveral Indians. Theſe unfortunate people gave up all they had, and ſtill more was required. Theſe continual exactions produced an alteration in their character, which was naturally timid; and all the Caciques, except Guacanahari, who had firſt received the Spaniards in his dominions, reſolved to unite their forces, in order to break a yoke which was becoming every day more intolerable.

Cruelties committed by the conquerors at San Domingo, and their effects.

COLUMBUS deſiſted from purſuing his diſcoveries, in order to prevent, or put a ſtop to this unexpected danger. Although two-thirds of his followers had been hurried to the grave by miſery, by the climate, and by debauchery; although ſickneſs prevented many of thoſe who had eſcaped theſe terrible ſcourges from joining him; and although he could not muſter more than two hundred infantry and twenty horſe to face the enemy, yet this extraordinary man was not afraid of attacking, in 1495, in the plains of Vega-Real, an army, which hiſtorians in general have computed at one hundred thouſand men. The chief precaution taken was to fall upon theſe troops in the night time.

THE unhappy iſlanders were conquered before the action began. They conſidered the Spaniards as beings of a ſuperior order. Their admiration, reſpect, and fear, were increaſed by the European armour; and the ſight of the cavalry in particular aſtoniſhed them beyond meaſure. Many of them were ſimple enough to believe that the man and the horſe were the ſame animal, or a kind of deity. Had their courage even been proof againſt theſe impreſſions of terror, they could have made but a faint reſiſtance. The cannonading, the pikes, and a diſcipline to which they were ſtrangers, muſt have eaſily diſperſed them. They fled on all ſides. To puniſh them for their rebellion, as it was called, every Indian above fourteen years of age, was ſubjected to a tribute in gold or in cotton, according to the diſtrict he lived in.

THIS arrangement of matters, which required aſſiduous labour, appeared the greateſt of evils to a people who were not uſed to be employed. The deſire of getting rid of their oppreſſors, became their only paſſion. As they entertained no further hope of their being able to ſend them away by force, the idea occurred to them, in 1496, of expelling them by famine. In this view, they ſowed no more maize, they pulled up the caſſava roots that were already planted, and they themſelves took refuge among the moſt barren and ſteep rocks.

DESPERATE reſolutions are ſeldom attended with ſucceſs; accordingly, that which the Indians had taken proved extremely fatal to them. The gifts of rude and uncultivated nature were not

BOOK VI.

ſufficient for their ſupport, as they had inconſiderately expected they would be; and their aſylum, however difficult of acceſs, was not able to ſcreen them from the purſuits of their incenſed tyrants, who, during this total privation of local reſources, accidentally received ſome proviſions from the mother country. Their rage was carried to ſuch a height, that they trained up dogs to hunt and devour theſe unhappy men; and it has even been ſaid, that ſome of the Caſtilians had made a vow to maſſacre twelve Indians every day in honour of the twelve Apoſtles. Before this event, the iſland was reckoned to contain a million of inhabitants. A third part of this conſiderable population periſhed on this occaſion, by fatigue, hunger, and the ſword.

Scarce had the remains of theſe unfortunate people, who had eſcaped ſo many diſaſters, returned to their habitations, where calamities of another kind were preparing for them, than diviſions aroſe among their perſecutors. The removal of the capital of the colony from the north to the ſouth, from Iſabella to San Domingo, might poſſibly furniſh a pretence for ſome complaints: but the diſſentions had their chief origin in the paſſions raiſed to an uncommon degree of fermentation under a burning ſky, and not ſufficiently reſtrained by an authority not properly eſtabliſhed. When the buſineſs was to dethrone ſome cacique, to plunder ſome diſtrict, or to exterminate ſome village, the commands of Columbus's brother, or of his repreſentative were readily obeyed. After the ſharing of the booty, the ſpirit of independence

pendence became again the prevailing ſpirit: and their mutual jealouſies and animoſities were only attended to. The parties at length took up arms againſt each other, and war was openly declared.

During the courſe of theſe diviſions, the admiral was in Spain, where he had returned in order to anſwer the accuſations that were inceſſantly renewed againſt him. The recital of all the great actions he had performed, and the expoſition of all the uſeful things he meant to carry into execution, eaſily regained him the confidence of Iſabella. Ferdinand himſelf began to be a little reconciled to the idea of diſtant voyages. The plan of a regular form of government was traced, which was firſt to be tried at San Domingo, and afterwards adopted, with ſuch alterations as experience ſhould have ſhew'n to be neceſſary, in the ſeveral ſettlements, which in proceſs of time might be founded in the other hemiſphere. Men, ſkilled in the working of the mines, were carefully ſelected; and the government took upon itſelf to pay and to maintain them for ſeveral years.

The people thought differently from their ſovereigns. Time, which brings on reflection when the firſt tranſports of enthuſiaſm are paſſed, had extinguiſhed the deſire originally ſo ardent, of going to the New World. It's gold was no longer an object of temptation: on the contrary, the livid complexions of all thoſe who returned home; the ſevere and diſgraceful diſtempers with which moſt of them were afflicted; the accounts

BOOK VI.

of the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, of the numbers who had loſt their lives, and the hardſhips they had undergone from the ſcarcity of proviſions; an unwillingneſs to be under the command of a foreigner, the ſeverity of whoſe diſcipline was generally cenſured; and, perhaps, the jealouſy that was entertained of his growing reputation; all theſe reaſons contributed to produce an inſuperable prejudice againſt San Domingo in the ſubjects of the crown of Caſtile, the only Spaniards who, 'till the year 1593, were allowed to embark for that iſland.

It was abſolutely neceſſary, however, to procure coloniſts; the admiral therefore propoſed to have recourſe to the priſons, and, to reſcue criminals from death and infamy, for the purpoſe of aggrandizing their country, of which they were the refuſe and the diſgrace. This project would have been attended with fewer inconveniences in ſuch colonies as, having gained a more ſolid eſtabliſhment, might, by the force of their laws, have reſtrained or corrected licentious and profligate individuals; but infant ſtates require founders of a different character from a ſet of rogues. America will, perhaps, never get rid of the remains of that alloy which debaſed the firſt colonies that were tranſported thither from Europe; and Columbus himſelf was ſoon convinced of the injudicious advice he had given.

Had this enterpriſing ſeaman carried out with him men of the common ſtamp, he might, during the voyage, have inſpired them with honeſt principles at leaſt, if not with high notions of honour.

Theſe

Theſe perſons on their arrival would have conſtituted a majority, and, by ſetting the example of obedience, would neceſſarily have brought back to order, thoſe who had deviated from it. Such a harmony would have been productive of the moſt ſalutary effects, and have eſtabliſhed the colony on the moſt ſolid foundation. The Indians would have been treated in a better manner, the mines worked to greater advantage, and the taxes more eaſily levied. The mother country, animated by this ſucceſs to greater exertions, might have formed new ſettlements, which would have augmented the glory, the wealth, and the power of Spain. Theſe important events, which might have been brought forward in a few years, were rendered abortive by this haſty idea.

The malefactors who accompanied Columbus, in conjunction with the plunderers that infeſted San Domingo, formed one of the moſt unnatural kinds of ſociety that had ever appeared upon the globe. Their mutual coalition enabled them boldly to ſet all authority at defiance; and the impoſſibility of ſubduing them, made it neceſſary to have recourſe to attempts to bring them over. Several were tried in vain. At length, in 1499, it was ſuggeſted, that to the lands which every Spaniard received, a greater or leſs number of iſlanders ſhould be annexed, whoſe time and labour was to be devoted to maſters deſtitute of humanity and prudence. This act of weakneſs reſtored apparent tranquillity to the colony, but without conciliating to the admiral the affection of thoſe who profited by it. The complaints made

made againſt him were even more conſtant, more urgent, more general, and more attended to than they had been before.

This extraordinary man purchaſed upon very hard terms the fame which his genius and induſtry had procured him. His life exhibited a perpetual contraſt of elevation and depreſſion. He was not only continually expoſed to the cabals, calumnies, and ingratitude of individuals; but was alſo obliged to ſubmit to the caprices of a haughty and turbulent court, which by turns rewarded or puniſhed, reduced him to the neceſſity of making the moſt humiliating juſtifications, and reſtored him to it's confidence.

The prejudice, entertained by the Spaniſh miniſtry againſt the author of the greateſt diſcovery ever made, operated ſo far, that an arbitrator was ſent to the New World, to decide between Columbus and his ſoldiers. Bovadilla, the moſt ambitious, ſelf-intereſted, unjuſt, and violent man that had yet gone over to America, arrived at San Domingo in 1500; deprived the admiral of his property, his honours, and his command, and ſent him to Europe in irons. The ſovereigns were warned, by public indignation, that the world expected the immediate puniſhment of ſo daring a crime, and the reparation of ſo great an outrage. In order to conciliate propriety with their prejudices, Ferdinand and Iſabella recalled, with real or feigned reſentment, the agent who had ſo cruelly abuſed the power with which they had intruſted him: but they did not reſtore to his poſt the deplorable victim of his incomprehenſible villany.

villany. Columbus, rather than languiſh in indolence, or live in a ſtate of humiliation, determined to undertake a fourth voyage as an adventurer, into regions which might almoſt be ſaid to have been created by himſelf. After this effort, which neither the malice of mankind, nor the caprice of the elements rendered uſeleſs, he ended in 1506, at Valladolid, his brilliant career, which the recent death of Iſabella had deprived him of every hope of it's ever being fortunate. Although he was no more than fifty-nine years of age, yet his bodily ſtrength was much weakened: but the faculties of his mind had not loſt any of their energy.

Such was the end of this uncommon man, who, to the aſtoniſhment of Europe, added a fourth part to the earth, or rather half a world to this globe, which had been ſo long deſolate, and ſo little know'n. It might reaſonably have been expected, that public gratitude would have given the name of this intrepid ſeaman to the new hemiſphere, the firſt diſcovery of which was owen to his enterprizing genius. This was the leaſt homage of reſpect that could be paid to his memory; but either through envy, inattention, or the caprice of fortune even in the diſtribution of fame, this honour was reſerved for Americus Veſpucius, a Florentine, who did nothing more than follow the footſteps of a man whoſe name ought to ſtand foremoſt in the liſt of great characters. Thus the very æra, which added America to the know'n world, was diſtinguiſhed by an inſtance of injuſtice, that may be conſidered as a fatal

BOOK VI.

fatal prelude to thoſe ſcenes of violence of which this unhappy country was afterwards to be the theatre.

His misfortunes had commenced with the diſcovery. Columbus, notwithſtanding his humanity and his talents, increaſed them himſelf by fixing Americans upon the lands which he diſtributed to his ſoldiers. This plan, which he had purſued merely to remove the embarraſſments to which he was expoſed from an almoſt inceſſant ſpirit of rebellion, was continued and extended by Bovadilla, in the view of gaining the affections of the Spaniards. Ovando, who ſucceeded him, broke all theſe connections, as he had been ordered to do. Reſt was the firſt enjoyment of theſe feeble beings, who had been condemned by force to labours, which were neither conſiſtent with the nature of their food, with their conſtitution, nor with their cuſtoms. They then wandered about as chance directed their ſteps, or ſat themſelves down and did nothing. The conſequence of this indolence was a famine, which was fatal both to them and their oppreſſors. It might have been poſſible to bring about ſome fortunate alteration in circumſtances with mildneſs, prudent regulations, and a great ſhare of patience. But theſe ſlow and moderate meaſures were not ſuitable to conquerors, who were eager to acquire, and earneſt to enjoy. They demanded, with a degree of warmth inſeparable from a concern of importance, that all the Indians ſhould be diſtributed among them, in order to be employed in working of the mines, in the cultivation of corn, or in any other kind of labour, of

of which they might be thought capable. Religion and political views were the two pretences made uſe of to palliate this dreadful ſyſtem. It was urged, that ſo long as theſe ſavages were tolerated in their ſuperſtitions, they would never embrace Chriſtianity; and would always be in a diſpoſition to revolt, unleſs their diſperſion ſhould put it out of their power to make any attempt. The court, after ſeveral diſcuſſions, reſolved to adopt an arrangement, ſo contrary to every ſound principle. The whole iſland was divided into a greater number of diſtricts; which the Spaniards obtained of greater or leſs extent, in proportion to their rank, intereſt, or birth. The Indians, attached to theſe precarious poſſeſſions, were ſlaves, whom the law was always bound to protect, though it never did it effectually either at San Domingo, or in the other parts of this new world, where this horrid plan has ſince been generally eſtabliſhed.

Some commotions were the immediate conſequence of this arrangement: but they were put a ſtop to by treachery or by the effuſion of blood. When ſlavery was completely eſtabliſhed, the produce of the mines became more certain. At firſt one half belonged to the crown. This claim was afterwards reduced to one third, and at length limited to a fifth part.

The treaſures brought from San Domingo excited the avarice even of thoſe who would not venture to croſs the ſeas. The grandees, the favourites, and thoſe who had employments in the ſtate, obtained ſome of this property, which procured

BOOK VI.

cured them riches without care, without diſburſements, and without anxiety. They committed the care of them to agents who were to make their own fortunes, while they increaſed thoſe of their principals. In leſs than ſix years time, ſixty thouſand American families were reduced to fourteen thouſand; and the continent and the adjacent iſlands were ranſacked for ſavages to ſupply their place.

They were indiſcriminately chained together like beaſts. Thoſe who ſank under their burdens were compelled to riſe by ſevere blows. No intercourſe paſſed between the ſexes except by ſtealth. The men periſhed in the mines; and the women in the fields, which they cultivated with their weak hands. Their conſtitutions, already exhauſted with exceſſive labour, were ſtill further impaired by an unwholeſome and ſcanty diet. The mothers expired with hunger and fatigue, preſſing their dead or dying infants to their breaſts, ſhrivelled and contracted for want of a proper ſupply of milk. The fathers either poiſoned themſelves, or hanged themſelves on thoſe very trees on which they had juſt before ſeen their wives or their children expire. The whole race became extinct. Let me be allowed to pauſe here for a moment. My eyes overflow with tears, and I can no longer diſcern what I am writing.

Voyages which lead the Spaniards to the knowlege of Mexico.

Before theſe ſcenes of horror had completed the ruin of the firſt countries diſcovered by the Spaniards in the New World, ſome adventurers of that nation, had formed ſettlements of leſs importance at Jamaica, at Porto-Rico, and at Cuba. Velaſquez,

Velaſquez, who founded the laſt of theſe, was deſirous that his colony ſhould ſhare, with that of San Domingo, the advantage of making diſcoveries on the continent; and he found moſt of the perſons, whom an active and inſatiable avidity had led into his iſland, very well diſpoſed to ſecond his views. A hundred and ten perſons embarked, on the eighth of February 1517, on board three ſmall veſſels at Saint Jago; ſailed weſtward, and landed ſucceſſively at Yucatan, and at Campeachy. They were received as enemies upon both theſe coaſts; many of them periſhed in the conteſts they were engaged in, and the reſt regained, in the utmoſt confuſion, the port from whence they had ſet out a few months before with ſuch flattering expectations. Their return was marked by the death of Cordova, the commander of the expedition, who expired of his wounds.

'Till this period, the new hemiſphere had preſented nothing to the Spaniards but naked and wandering ſavages, without any occupation or form of government. This was the firſt time they had ſeen a people dwelling in houſes, clothed, formed into a national body, and ſufficiently advanced in the arts to convert precious metals into vaſes.

This diſcovery, while it excited apprehenſions of new dangers, preſented, at the ſame time, the alluring proſpect of a rich booty; two hundred and forty Spaniards therefore went on board of four ſhips fitted out by the chief of the colony at his own expence. They began by verifying the reports brought by the preceding adventurers; they

BOOK VI.

they then continued their voyage as far as the river Panuco, and thought they perceived in all parts ſtill more evident marks of civilization. They often landed. Sometimes they were very warmly attacked, and ſometimes they were received with a degree of reſpect bordering upon adoration. They found one or two opportunities of exchanging ſome trifles of the old hemiſphere for the gold of the new one. The moſt enterprizing of them were of opinion that a ſettlement ſhould be formed upon theſe beautiful regions; but their commander Gryalva, though active and intrepid, was not animated with the ſoul of a hero, and did not think his forces ſufficient for ſo important an undertaking. He returned to Cuba, where he gave an account, more or leſs exaggerated, of all he had ſeen, and of all he had been able to learn, concerning the empire of Mexico.

The conqueſt of this immenſe and opulent region was immediately reſolved upon by Velaſquez; but he took ſome time in deliberating upon the choice of the agent he meant to employ on this occaſion. He was apprehenſive of intruſting the buſineſs to a man who ſhould not have the qualities neceſſary to inſure it's ſucceſs, or to one who ſhould have too much ambition to give the honour of it to him. His confidants at length determined his choice in favour of Fernando Cortez, the one of his lieutenants whom his talents moſt ſtrongly indicated as the fitteſt perſon to execute the project, but at the ſame time the moſt improper to anſwer his perſonal views. The activity, elevation of mind, and boldneſs diſplayed by the

new

new commander in preparing for an expedition, the difficulties of which he foreſees and wiſhes to remove, awaken all the anxiety of a governor naturally too ſuſpicious. He was obſerved to be employed, firſt in private, and afterwards openly, in ſuggeſting a plan for the withdrawing of an important commiſſion, which he reproached himſelf with having inconſiderately given. But this regret was too late. Before the arrangements, contrived to keep back the fleet, compoſed of eleven ſmall veſſels, could be ſettled, it had ſet ſail on the tenth February 1519, with nine hundred ſailors, five hundred and eight ſoldiers, ſixteen horſe, thirteen muſquets, thirty-two croſs-bows, a great number of ſwords and pikes, four falcons, and ten field pieces.

These preparatives for invaſion, however inſufficient they may ſeem to be, had not even been furniſhed by the crown, which at that time only lent it's name to the new diſcoveries and ſettlements. The plans of aggrandizement were formed by private perſons, who conducted them according to meaſures either well or ill concerted, and who carried them into execution at their own expence. The thirſt of gold, and the ſpirit of chivalry which ſtill ſubſiſted, were the two chief motives that excited the ferment. Theſe two powerful incentives hurried at once into the New World men of the higheſt and of the loweſt claſs in ſociety; robbers intent on nothing but plunder; and men of exalted minds, who imagined they were purſuing the road to glory. This is the reaſon why the veſtiges of theſe firſt conquerors

BOOK VI.

were marked by ſo many crimes, and by ſo many extraordinary actions; why their cupidity was ſo atrocious, and their bravery ſo aſtoniſhing.

Cortez ſeemed to be animated with the two paſſions of riches and of fame. In going to the place of his deſtination, he attacked the Indians of Tabaſco, beat their troops ſeveral times, compelled them to ſue for peace, received homage from them, and obliged them to give him proviſions, ſome pieces of cotton, and twenty women, who were glad to follow him. This readineſs of their's may be accounted for very naturally.

In America the men were in general addicted to that ſhameful kind of debauchery which ſhocks nature, and perverts animal inſtinct. This depravity has been attributed by ſome to natural weakneſs, which, however, ſhould rather ſeem to be contrary than incentive to it. It may rather be aſcribed to the heat of the climate; the contempt the men have for the ſofter ſex; the little pleaſure that can be experienced in the arms of a woman haraſſed with labour; the inconſtancy of taſte; the caprice which incites us in every particular to enjoyments that are leaſt common; and inſpires us with certain inordinate propenſities to voluptuouſneſs, more eaſy to be conceived than explained with decency. Beſides, thoſe hunting parties, in which the men were frequently abſent from the women for whole months, contributed alſo to familiarize men more with each other. This vice is therefore in theſe countries nothing more than the conſequence of an univerſal and violent paſſion, which even in civilized nations tramples

upon

upon honour, virtue, decency, probity, the ties of conſanguinity, and patriotic ſentiment: beſides, that there are ſome actions to which civilized people have with reaſon attached moral ideas, that never have entered into the minds of ſavages.

However this may be, the arrival of the Europeans raiſed new ideas in the American women. They threw themſelves without reluctance into the arms of theſe libidinous ſtrangers, who had inured themſelves to cruelty, and whoſe avaricious hands were imbrued in blood. While the unfortunate remains of theſe ſavage nations were endeavouring to ſeparate themſelves from the ſword that purſued them by immenſe tracts of deſerts, their women, who had been hitherto too much neglected, boldly trampling on the carcaſes of their children and of their murdered huſbands, went to ſeek their deſtroyers even in their camp, in order to intice them to ſhare the ardent tranſports with which they were devoured. This furious attachment of the American women for the Spaniards, may be reckoned among the cauſes that contributed to the conqueſt of the New World. Theſe women uſually ſerved them as guides, frequently procured them ſubſiſtence, and ſometimes betrayed conſpiracies to them.

The moſt celebrated of theſe women was named Marina. Though ſhe was the daughter of a tolerably powerful cacique, ſhe had been reduced, by ſome ſingular events, to a ſtate of ſlavery among the Mexicans from her earlieſt infancy. She had been brought, by freſh incidents, to Tabaſco before the arrival of the Spaniards. Struck

BOOK VI.

with her figure and her charms, they ſoon diſtinguiſhed her from the reſt. Their general ſurrendered his heart to her, and at the ſame time excited a warm paſſion in her breaſt. In the midſt of amorous embraces ſhe readily learnt the Spaniſh language. Cortez, on his part, ſoon diſcovered the intelligent mind and reſolute character of his miſtreſs; and not only made her his interpreter, but alſo his adviſer. All hiſtorians agree that ſhe acted a conſiderable part in every enterpriſe againſt Mexico.

The Spaniards land at Mexico. Their firſt engagements are againſt the republic of Tlaſcala.

MONTEZUMA was ſovereign of the empire when the Spaniards landed there. The monarch was ſoon informed of the arrival of theſe ſtrangers. Throughout this vaſt extent of kingdom couriers were placed at different diſtances, who ſpeedily acquainted the court with every thing that happened in the moſt diſtant provinces. Their diſpatches were compoſed of pieces of cotton, upon which were delineated the ſeveral circumſtances of the affairs that required the attention of government. The figures were intermixed with hieroglyphic characters, which ſupplied what the art of the painter had not been able to expreſs.

IT was to be expected, that a prince who had been raiſed to the throne by his valour, who had extended his empire by conqueſt, who was in poſſeſſion of numerous and diſciplined armies, would either ſend to attack, or would have marched himſelf to diſperſe, a handful of adventurers, who dared to infeſt and plunder his dominions. But this ſtep was neglected; and the Spaniards, who had always an irreſiſtible turn to the marvellous,

lous, endeavoured to explain, by having recourſe to a miracle, a conduct ſo evidently oppoſite to to the character of the monarch, and incompatible with his ſituation. The writers of this ſuperſtitious nation have not ſcrupled to declare to the whole univerſe, that a little before the diſcovery of the New World, it had been foretold to the Mexicans, that an invincible people from the eaſt would ſoon come among them, who would, in a memorable and terrible manner, avenge the gods irritated by their moſt horrid crimes, and particularly that vice which is moſt repugnant to nature. This fatal prediction alone, they ſay, had faſcinated the underſtanding of Montezuma. By this impoſture, they imagined that they ſhould gain the double advantage of juſtifying their uſurpations, and making Heaven anſwerable for a part of their cruelties. This abſurd fable has for a long time obtained credit among ſome perſons in both hemiſpheres, and the infatuation is not ſo ſurpriſing as might at firſt be imagined. The reaſons of it will be made evident by a few reflections.

ANTIENT revolutions, the period of which is uncertain, have ſubverted the earth; and the ſcience of aſtronomy demonſtrates the poſſibility of theſe cataſtrophes, of which the natural and moral hiſtory of the world furniſhes us with a multitude of inconteſtible proofs. A great number of comets are moving, in all directions, round the ſun. The motions of their orbits, far from being invariable, are evidently changed by the action of the planets. Several of theſe bodies

have paſſed near the earth, and may poſſibly have ſtruck againſt it. This event is not likely to happen in the courſe of one year, or even of one century: but the probability of it increaſes ſo much from the number of the earth's revolutions, that it may almoſt be aſſerted, that this planet has not always eſcaped the ſhock of the different comets that have traverſed it's orbit.

Such a circumſtance muſt have occaſioned inexpreſſible ravages upon the ſurface of the globe. The rotatory axis being altered, the ſeas would abandon their former poſition to precipitate themſelves towards the new equator; the greateſt part of the animals would either be drowned by the deluge, or deſtroyed by the violent ſhock given to the earth by the comet; and whole ſpecies muſt have been annihilated: ſuch are the diſaſters which a comet muſt have produced.

Independent of this general cauſe of devaſtation, earthquakes, volcanoes, and a variety of other unknow'n cauſes, which act on the internal parts of the globe, as well as on it's ſurface, muſt have changed the reſpective poſition of it's parts, and conſequently the ſituation of the poles upon which it rotates. The waters of the ſea, diſplaced by theſe changes, muſt have quitted one tract of land to occupy another, and muſt have cauſed thoſe inundations and ſucceſſive deluges which have, in all parts, left viſible marks of ruin and devaſtation, or laſting memorials of their fatal effects in the annals or traditions of mankind.

This perpetual ſtruggle of one element with another; of the earth ingulphing the waters in her internal

internal cavities; and of the ſea incroaching upon, and ſwallowing up, large tracts of land; this eternal conteſt ſubſiſting between two elements apparently incompatible, but in reality inſeparable from each other, expoſes the inhabitants of the globe to evident dangers, and fills them with apprehenſions concerning their fate. The lively recollection of paſt, naturally inſpires a dread of future changes. Hence the univerſal traditions concerning deluges in the earlier ages, and the expectation of the future conflagration of the world. The violent agitations which have been felt in every part of the globe, earthquakes occaſioned by inundations, or vulcanoes produced by thoſe convulſions, excite and keep up terror in the minds of men. This terror has been diffuſed, and received the ſanction of every ſyſtem of ſuperſtition; and it is obſerved to operate moſt ſtrongly in countries, ſuch as America, where the veſtiges of theſe revolutions of the globe are moſt remarkable and moſt recent.

Man, once poſſeſſed with fear, conſiders a ſingle calamity as the parent of a thouſand others. Earth and heaven ſeem equally to conſpire his ruin: he imagines that he views death both above and beneath him: he looks upon events, which accidentally happen at the ſame juncture, as connected in the nature and order of things; and, as every tranſaction on this globe muſt neceſſarily appear under the aſpect of ſome conſtellation, the ſtars are accuſed of having a ſhare in every calamity, the cauſe of which is unknow'n; and the human mind, which has ever been bewildered in it's inquiries

BOOK VI.

concerning the origin of evil, has been led to ſuppoſe, that certain ſimilar ſituations of the planets, however common, have an immediate and neceſſary influence on all revolutions happening at the time, or ſoon after ſucceeding.

POLITICAL events, in particular, on account of their greater importance to mankind, have ever been conſidered as more immediately depending on the motion of the ſtars. Hence have ariſen falſe predictions, and the terrors they have inſpired; terrors which have always diſturbed the earth, and of which ignorance is the cauſe, at the ſame time that it regulates the degree of them.

THOUGH Montezuma, as well as many other perſons, might poſſibly have been affected with this diſeaſe of the human mind, there is no circumſtance that can induce us to impute this prevailing weakneſs to him. His political conduct, however, was not the wiſer on this account. Since this prince had been upon the throne, he had no longer diſplayed any of thoſe talents that had placed him upon it. Sunk in a ſtate of effeminacy and indolence, he deſpiſed his ſubjects, and oppreſſed his tributaries. His mind was ſo debaſed and corrupted, that even the arrival of the Spaniards could not rouze him into action. He waſted in negociations the time he ſhould have employed in combat, and wiſhed to ſend away, laden with preſents, enemies he ought to have deſtroyed. Cortez, to whom this ſupineneſs was very convenient, omitted nothing that might contribute to encourage it, and always treated with him

him on the moſt friendly terms. He declared, that he was ſent merely with orders to hold a conference with the powerful emperor of Mexico, on the part of the greateſt monarch of the Eaſt. Whenever he was preſſed to reimbark, he always repreſented, that no ambaſſador had ever been diſmiſſed without being admitted to an audience. At length the deputies, finding him inflexible, were obliged, according to their inſtructions, to have recourſe to menaces, and ſpoke in high terms of the opulence and ſtrength of their country. Cortez then, turning to his ſoldiers, told them: *This is exactly what we wiſhed to meet with, great dangers and great wealth.* He had then completed all his preparatives, and gained every information that was neceſſary. Reſolved therefore to conquer or to periſh, he ſet fire to all his ſhips, and directed his march towards the capital of the empire.

In his way he met with the republic of Tlaſcala, which had ever been at enmity with the Mexicans, who wanted to make it ſubject to their empire. Cortez, not doubting but that they would favour his projects, demanded permiſſion to paſs through their country, and propoſed an alliance. A people, who had prohibited themſelves from holding almoſt any kind of intercourſe with their neighbours, and whom this unſociable principle had accuſtomed to a general miſtruſt, could not be favourably inclined to ſtrangers, whoſe manner was imperious, and who had ſignalized their arrival by inſults offered to the gods of the country. Accordingly they rejected,

BOOK VI.

jected, without hesitation, the two proposals that were made to them. The surprising accounts given of the Spaniards astonished the inhabitants of Tlascala, but did not dismay them. They fought four or five battles; in one of which the Spanish troops were broken. Cortez was obliged to intrench himself; and the Indians, who wanted nothing but arms to make them victorious, rushed to death upon his breast-works.

ANOTHER circumstance, which contributed not a little to the defeat of the Tlascalans, was a certain point of honour, dictated by the feelings of common humanity, adopted by the Greeks at the siege of Troy, and by some people among the Gauls; and established among several nations. This was the dread and disgrace of suffering the dead or the wounded to be carried off by the enemy. An attention to this point occasioned a continual confusion in their ranks, and abated the vigour of their attacks.

A POLITICAL constitution, which could not be expected to have been found in the New World, had been established in this region. The country was divided into several districts, over which princes presided with the title of Caciques. They led their subjects to war, levied taxes, and administered justice: but it was necessary that their laws and edicts should have the sanction of the senate of Tlascala, in which the supreme authority resided. This body was composed of citizens, chosen out of each district by an assembly of the people.

THE

THE morals of the Tlaſcalans were extremely rigid. Falſehood, filial ingratitude, and ſodomy, were puniſhed with death. Theft, adultery, and drunkenneſs were abhorred: and the perſons guilty of theſe crimes were baniſhed. Polygamy was tolerated by law. Their climate led to it, and the government encouraged it.

MILITARY merit here, as in all uncivilized ſtates, or ſuch as aſpire to conqueſt, was in the higheſt eſtimation. In their warlike expeditions they carried in their quivers two arrows, on which were engraved the figures of two of their antient heroes. They began the engagement by diſcharging one of theſe arrows, which it was a point of honour to recover. In their towns they wore a dreſs, which they laid aſide when they went to battle. They were celebrated for ſimplicity and ſincerity in their public treaties, and for the veneration they paid to old men.

THEIR country, though uneven, of no great extent, and only moderately fertile, was ſtill very populous, tolerably well cultivated, and the inhabitants were happy.

SUCH were the people whom the Spaniards diſdained to acknowlege to be of the ſame ſpecies with themſelves. One of the qualities of the Tlaſcalans, which excited their contempt the moſt, was the love of liberty. They fancied that theſe people had no form of government, becauſe it was not veſted in a ſingle perſon; no police, becauſe it differed from that of Madrid; no virtues, becauſe they were not of the ſame religious perſuaſion;

BOOK VI.

perſuaſion; and no underſtanding, becauſe they did not adopt the ſame opinions.

PERHAPS, no people have ever been ſo firmly attached to their national prejudices, as the Spaniards were at that time, and as they ſtill continue to be. By theſe prejudices all their ſentiments were dictated, their judgments influenced, and their characters formed. The ſtrong and ardent genius they derived from nature, ſerved only to aſſiſt them in inventing ſophiſms to confirm them in their errors. Never was the perverſion of human reaſon maintained in a more dogmatical, determined, obſtinate, and ſubtile manner: nor was their attachment to their cuſtoms leſs ſtrong than to their prejudices. They thought no people in the world were intelligent, enlightened, and virtuous, except themſelves. This national pride, carried to an exceſs of infatuation beyond example, would have inclined them to conſider Athens in the ſame contemptuous light as they did Tlaſcala. They would have treated the Chineſe as brutes, and have every where left marks of outrage, oppreſſion, and devaſtation.

THIS haughty and imperious turn of mind did not, however, prevent the Spaniards from making an alliance with the Tlaſcalans, who furniſhed them with ſix thouſand troops to conduct their march, and aſſiſt them in their enterprize.

The Spaniards, after having introduced themſelves into the capital of the empire,

WITH this reinforcement, Cortez advanced towards Mexico, through a fertile country, well watered, and covered with woods, cultivated fields, villages, and gardens. The ſoil produced a variety

a variety of plants unknow'n in Europe. Birds of the brighteſt plumage, and animals of a new ſpecies, appeared in great abundance. Nature differed from herſelf only in aſſuming a more agreeable and richer dreſs. The temperature of the air, and the continual, though tolerable heat, preſerved the earth in a conſtant verdure and fertility. On the ſame ſpot were ſeen trees covered with bloſſoms, and others with delicious fruits; and the corn that was ſow'n in one field was reaped in another.

are obliged to evacuate it after ſeveral extraordinary events.

The Spaniards ſeemed to be inſenſible to the beauties of ſo new a ſcene. They ſaw that gold was the common ornament of the houſes and temples; that the arms, furniture, and perſons, of the Mexicans, were adorned with the ſame metal. This alone attracted their notice, like Mammon, whom Milton deſcribes as forgetting the Divinity in Heaven itſelf, and having his eyes always fixed upon it's golden porches.

Montezuma's wavering diſpoſition, and, perhaps, the fear of ſtaining his former glory, prevented him from marching againſt the Spaniards at their arrival, and from joining the Tlaſcalans, who had behaved with greater courage than he had done; and, laſtly, from attacking conquerors who were fatigued with their own victories. He had contented himſelf with endeavouring to divert Cortez from his deſign of viſiting his capital, and reſolved at laſt to introduce him into it himſelf. Thirty kings or princes were ſubject to his dominion, many of whom were able to bring a numerous

BOOK VI.

rous army into the field. He poſſeſſed conſiderable riches, and his power was abſolute. It appears that his ſubjects were intelligent and induſtrious. They were alſo a warlike people, and had high notions of honour.

HAD the emperor of Mexico know'n how to avail himſelf of theſe advantages, the ſcepter could never have been wreſted out of his hands. But this prince, forgetting what he owed to himſelf and to his ſtation, did not ſhew the leaſt ſign of courage or ability. When he might have cruſhed the Spaniards with his whole force, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority in diſcipline and arms, he rather choſe to have recourſe to perfidy.

WHILE he loaded them with preſents, careſſes, and every token of reſpect at Mexico, he gave orders to attack Vera-Cruz, a colony the Spaniards had eſtabliſhed upon the ſpot where they landed, with a view of ſecuring their retreat, and of being furniſhed with ſupplies. Cortez acquainted his companions with the news, and ſaid to them, "It is abſolutely neceſſary to ſurpriſe "theſe barbarians with ſome extraordinary ex-"ploit; I am reſolved to ſeize the emperor, and "make myſelf maſter of his perſon." This deſign being approved, he inſtantly marched with his officers to Montezuma's palace, and told him he muſt either follow him, or die. The prince, whoſe puſillanimity could only be equalled by the raſhneſs of his enemies, reſigned himſelf into their hands. He was obliged to conſent to the puniſhment of the generals, who had acted only in obedience

obedience to his orders; and completed his disgrace, by ſubmitting to do homage to the king of Spain.

In the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes, intelligence was received, that Narvaez had juſt arrived from Cuba with eight hundred infantry, fourſcore cavalry, and twelve pieces of cannon, in order to take the command of the army, and to puniſh the refractory. Theſe forces had been ſent by Velaſquez, who was diſſatisfied that a few adventurers, ſent out under his auſpices, ſhould have neglected all intercourſe with him, declared themſelves independent of his authority, and ſent deputies into Europe, to obtain the confirmation of thoſe powers they had arrogated to themſelves. Although Cortez had no more than two hundred and fifty men, he marched up to his rival, engaged, and took him priſoner. He obliged the vanquiſhed to lay down their arms, but afterwards reſtored them, and propoſed that they ſhould follow him. He gained their affections by his confidence and magnanimity; and theſe ſoldiers inliſted under his ſtandard. He inſtantly marched back with them to Mexico, where he had not been able to leave more than fifty Spaniards, who with the Tlaſcalans cloſely guarded the emperor.

Commotions were excited among the nobility of Mexico, whoſe indignation was raiſed at the captivity of their prince; and the indiſcreet zeal of the Spaniards having prompted them to diſturb a public feſtival, celebrated in honour of the deities of the country, by deſtroying their altars, and making

BOOK VI.

making a maſſacre of the worſhippers and prieſts, the people had been provoked to take up arms.

The Mexicans had a number of barbarous ſuperſtitions; and their prieſts were monſters, who made the moſt ſcandalous abuſe of that abominable worſhip, which they had impoſed upon the credulity of the people. They acknowleged, like all other civilized nations, a Supreme Being, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments: but theſe ſublime doctrines were diſgraced by a mixture of abſurdities, which deſtroyed their credibility.

The religious ſyſtem of the Mexicans taught them to expect the final cataſtrophe of the world at the concluſion of every century; and that year was diſtinguiſhed throughout the whole empire by every mark of grief and conſternation.

The Mexicans invoked inferior powers in the ſame manner as other nations have invoked Genii, Camis, Manitous, Angels, and Fetiches. The loweſt of this claſs of deities had all their temples, images, functions, and diſtinct authority aſſigned them, together with the power of working miracles.

The Mexicans had alſo their holy water to ſprinkle the people; and the emperor drank of it. Pilgrimages, proceſſions, and donations to the prieſts were eſteemed acts of piety: and they were no ſtrangers to expiations, penances, mortifications, and abſtinence. They had ſome ſuperſtitious obſervances peculiar to themſelves. A ſlave was annually choſen, and ſhut up in the temple; to him they paid adoration, offered incenſe

cenſe invoked him as a deity, and concluded the ſcene by putting him to death with great ſolemnity.

Another piece of ſuperſtition, of which no traces are to be found in any other country, was this: on certain days the prieſt made a ſtatue of paſte, which they ſent to the oven to be baked; they then placed it upon an altar, where it became a divinity. Upon this day innumerable crowds of people flocked to the temple. The prieſts cut the ſtatue in pieces, and diſtributed a portion of it to all the perſons in the aſſembly, who ate it, and thought they were ſanctified by ſwallowing their God.

It was certainly more eligible to eat Gods than men: and yet the Mexicans ſacrificed their priſoners of war in the temple of the god of battles. The prieſts, it is ſaid, afterwards ate them, and ſent portions to the emperor, and the principal lords of the realm. When peace had laſted ſome time, the prieſts took care to have it inſinuated to the emperor, that the Gods were hungry; and war was commenced with no other view than to make priſoners.

Such a ſyſtem of religion, was, in every view, odious and terrible; and all it's ceremonies were of a diſmal and ſanguinary caſt. It kept mankind perpetually in awe, was calculated to make a people cruel, and to give the prieſts an unlimited authority.

These barbarous abſurdities, though they might juſtly excite the deteſtation of the Spaniards, could not juſtify their attempts to ſuppreſs them

BOOK VI.

them by the greateſt cruelties. They could not juſtify them in attacking and murdering a people aſſembled in the principal temple of the capital; or in aſſaſſinating the nobles in order to ſeize upon their poſſeſſions.

On his return to Mexico, Cortez found the Spaniards beſieged on the ſpot, where he had left them. It was a ſpace of ſufficient extent to contain the Spaniards and their allies, and ſurrounded with a thick wall, upon which were placed towers at different diſtances. The artillery had been diſpoſed in the beſt manner poſſible; and the ſervice had been always executed with as much regularity and vigilance as in a beſieged place, or in the moſt expoſed camp. The general was not able to make his way into this kind of fortreſs, till after he had encountered many difficulties; and when he had at length got into it, the dangers ſtill continued. Such was the obſtinate fury of the natives of the country, that they expoſed themſelves to the riſque of penetrating through the embraſures of the cannon, into the aſylum which they wiſhed to force.

In order to relieve themſelves from ſo deſperate a ſituation, the Spaniards had recourſe to ſallies; which were ſucceſsful, without being deciſive. The Mexicans gave proofs of extraordinary courage. They cheerfully devoted themſelves to certain death. Naked and ill-armed, they were ſeen to throw themſelves into the ranks of the Spaniards, with a view of making their arms uſeleſs, or wreſting them out of their hands. They were all ready to periſh, in order to reſcue their

their country from the yoke of theſe foreign uſurpers.

THE moſt bloody engagement was fought upon an eminence which the Americans had ſeized, and from whence they overwhelmed all that preſented themſelves with ſhowers of arrows, more or leſs deſtructive. The party charged with diſlodging them, was three times repulſed. Cortez was irritated by this reſiſtance, and though much wounded, reſolved to take the attack upon himſelf. Scarce had he got poſſeſſion of this important poſt, than two young Mexicans threw down their arms, and came over to him as deſerters. Placing one knee on the ground in a ſuppliant poſture, they ſprang upon him with extreme quickneſs, and ſeized him, in hopes of making him periſh by dragging him away along with them. Cortez, either by his ſtrength or dexterity, diſengaged himſelf from them; and the two Mexicans died the victims of this noble but fruitleſs enterprize.

THIS, and many other exploits, which ſhewed equal courage, made the Spaniards deſirous of coming to terms of accommodation. At length Montezuma, ſtill a priſoner, conſented to become the inſtrument of his people's ſlavery; and, in all the pomp of the throne, he made his appearance upon the wall, to perſuade his ſubjects to diſcontinue hoſtilities. Their reſentment convinced him that his reign was at an end, and he was mortally wounded by the ſhower of arrows they diſcharged at him.

BOOK VI.

THIS tragical event was followed by a new arrangement of things. The Mexicans at length perceived, that their plan of defence, and their plan of attack were equally defective; and reſolved to do nothing more than intercept the proviſions, and reduce by famine an enemy, whom the ſuperiority of their diſcipline and of their arms, rendered invincible. Cortez no ſooner perceived this change of meaſures, than he thought of ſecuring a retreat among the Tlaſcalans.

THE execution of this project required great diſpatch, impenetrable ſecrecy, and well-concerted meaſures. The march was begun in the middle of the night: the army was ſilently filing off along a bank, when the rear-guard was attacked by a numerous body, and the flanks by canoes diſtributed on each ſide of the cauſeway. If the Mexicans, who had a greater number of troops than they could bring into action, had taken the precaution to place ſome at the extremity of the bridges which they had prudently broken, all the Spaniards, and their allies, would have periſhed in this bloody engagement. Fortunately for them, the enemy knew not how to avail himſelf of all his advantages; and they at length reached the borders of the lake, after having undergone a variety of incredible dangers and fatigues. The confuſion they were in ſtill expoſed them to a total defeat, when they were relieved from this danger by a freſh error of the enemy.

No

No ſooner had the morning dawn diſcovered to the Mexicans the field of battle, of which they were maſters, than they perceived among the ſlain, a ſon and two daughters of Montezuma, whom the Spaniards were carrying off with ſome other priſoners. This ſight chilled them with horror. The idea of having maſſacred the children, after having ſacrificed the father, was too violent for men, enfeebled and enervated by a habit of blind obedience, to be able to bear. They were afraid of adding impiety to regicide; and employed in idle funeral rites the time they owed to the preſervation of their country.

During this interval, the beaten army, which had loſt it's artillery, ammunition, and baggage, with five or ſix hundred Spaniards, and two thouſand Tlaſcalans, and which had ſcarce a ſoldier remaining that was not wounded, was reſuming it's march. The enemy ſoon purſued, haraſſed, and at length ſurrounded it in the valley of Otumba. The cannonade, and the firing of the ſmall arms, the pikes and ſwords, did not prevent the Indians, all naked as they were, from advancing and charging their enemies with great fury. Courage was juſt upon the point of yielding to numbers, when Cortez himſelf determined the fortune of the day. He had been informed, that in this part of the New World the fate of the battle depended upon the royal ſtandard. Theſe colours, the form of which was remarkable, and which were never brought into the field but on the moſt important occaſions, were at no great diſtance from him. He immediately ruſhed forward,

BOOK VI.

ward, with the braveſt of his companions, to take them from the enemy. One of them ſeized and carried them into the Spaniſh ranks. The Mexicans immediately loſt all courage; and throwing down their arms, betook themſelves to flight. Cortez purſued his march, and arrived in the country of Tlaſcala without oppoſition.

The Spaniards employ other means for ſubduing Mexico, and are ſucceſsful.

CORTEZ did not relinquiſh either the deſign or the hopes of ſubduing the empire of Mexico; but he adopted a new plan, and propoſed to make one part of the inhabitants aſſiſt him in the reduction of the other. The form of the Mexican government, the diſpoſition of the people, and the ſituation of the city, favoured his project, and facilitated the execution of it.

THE empire was elective, and certain princes or caciques were the electors. They uſually choſe one of their own body. He was obliged to take an oath, that, ſo long as he filled the throne, the rains ſhould fall in due ſeaſon, the rivers cauſe no inundations, the fields be exempt from ſterility, and that mankind ſhould not be deſtroyed by the malignant effects of a contagious air. This cuſtom may have had ſome reference to a theocratical government, the traces of which are ſtill to be found almoſt among all the nations in the world. It might likewiſe probably be the intention of this whimſical oath, to intimate to the new ſovereign, that, as the misfortunes of a ſtate almoſt always ariſe from wrong meaſures of adminiſtration, his government ought to be conducted with ſuch moderation and wiſdom, that public calamities might never be conſidered as the conſequences

conſequences of his imprudence, or as the juſt puniſhment of his licentiouſneſs. According to the admirable tenor of their laws, merit was the only title to the crown: but ſuperſtition had given the prieſts a conſiderable influence in their elections. On his acceſſion to the throne, the emperor was obliged to make war, and to offer the priſoners to the gods. This prince, though elective, had an abſolute authority, as there were no written laws; and he was at liberty to make what alterations he choſe in the old cuſtoms. Almoſt all the forms of juſtice, and ceremonies of the court, had the ſanction of religion. The ſame crimes that are puniſhed in all other places were puniſhable by the laws; but the criminals were often ſaved by the interpoſition of the prieſts. There were two laws which had a tendency to deſtroy the innocent, and to make the Mexicans bend under the double yoke of tyranny and ſuperſtition. By theſe laws, perſons offending againſt the ſanctity of religion, or the majeſty of the prince, were condemned to death. It is eaſy to diſcern how much laws of ſo little preciſion might afford opportunities of gratifying private revenge, or of promoting the intereſted views of prieſts and courtiers.

The ſteps by which private men obtained the rank of nobility, and the nobility roſe to poſts of honour, were bravery, piety, and perſeverance. In the temples a more painful noviciate was preſcribed than in the army; and the nobles, who had undergone ſuch hardſhips to obtain their diſ-

BOOK VI.

tinctions, ſubmitted to the meaneſt employments in the palace of the emperors.

AMONG the great numbers of vaſſals in Mexico, Cortez concluded there might be ſome who would be ready to ſhake off the yoke, and join the Spaniards. He had remarked that the Mexicans were holden in great deteſtation by the petty ſtates that were ſubject to the empire, and that the emperors exerciſed their authority with extreme ſeverity. He had likewiſe obſerved, that the provinces in general diſliked the religion of the metropolis, and that even in Mexico the nobility and perſons of fortune, whoſe intercourſe with ſociety had abated the force of their prejudices, and ſoftened their popular manners, had loſt their attachment to this mode of religion; and that many of the nobility were diſguſted at the low ſervices exacted of them by their maſters.

AFTER Cortez had been ſilently deliberating upon his great projects, and bringing them to maturity, during ſix months, he marched out of his retreat, attended by five hundred and ninety Spaniards, ten thouſand Tlaſcalans, and ſome other Indians, bringing along with them forty horſes, and eight or nine field-pieces. His march towards the center of the Mexican dominions was eaſy and rapid. The petty nations, which might have retarded or embarraſſed it, were all eaſily ſubdued, or voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves to him. Many of the diſtricts in the neighbourhood of the capital of the empire, were

alſo

alſo forced to yield to him, or ſubmitted of themſelves.

Successes calculated to aſtoniſh even the moſt preſumptuous, ought naturally to have attached every individual to the intrepid and preſcient commander, whoſe work they were; but this was not the caſe. Among his Spaniſh troops, there were rather a conſiderable number, who had kept up too lively a recollection of the dangers which they had eſcaped with ſo much difficulty; and who were become traitors, from the dread of thoſe they had ſtill to encounter. They agreed among themſelves to aſſaſſinate their general, and to give the command to a perſon who would abandon projects which appeared to them extravagant; and would take prudent meaſures for their preſervation. The treaſon was juſt upon the point of being carried into execution, when remorſe induced one of the conſpirators to throw himſelf at the feet of Cortez. Immediately this bold man, the reſources of whoſe genius were more and more unfolded by unexpected events, cauſed Villafagna, the principal agent in this dark plot, to be arreſted, tried, and ſentenced, but not 'till he had extorted from him an accurate liſt of his accomplices. The buſineſs was to diſſipate the anxiety which ſuch a diſcovery might occaſion. This was effected, by giving out that the villain had torn a paper, which contained, no doubt, either the plan of the conſpiracy, or the names of the conſpirators; and that he had carried his ſecret with him to the grave, notwithſtanding

BOOK VI.

ſtanding the ſeverity of the torments employed to extort it from him.

In the mean while, the general, in order not to give his troops time to reflect too much upon what had happened, haſtened to the attack of Mexico, the grand object of his ambition, and the ultimate end of the hopes of the army: the project was attended with great difficulty.

Mountains, which for the moſt part were a thouſand feet high, ſurrounded a plain of about forty leagues. The greater part of this immenſe ſpace, was occupied by lakes which communicated with each other. At the northern extremity of the greateſt of theſe, in the midſt of a few ſmall iſlands, had been built the moſt conſiderable city that exiſted in the New World, before the Europeans had diſcovered it. Three cauſeways, of different lengths, but all of them broad, and conſtructed with ſolidity, led up to it. The inhabitants of the ſhores, too diſtant from theſe great roads, came up to them in their canoes.

Cortez made himſelf maſter of the navigation, by means of ſome ſmall veſſels, the materials of which had been prepared at Tlaſcala; and he ordered the dykes to be attacked by Sandoval, by Alvarado, and by Olid, to each of whom he diſtributed an equal number of guns, of Spaniſh troops, and of Indian auxiliaries.

Every thing had been diſpoſed for a long time to make an obſtinate reſiſtance. The means of defence had been prepared by Quetlavaca, who had ſucceeded his brother Montezuma; but who had

had periſhed of the ſmallpox, brought into theſe regions by a ſlave belonging to Narvaes; and when the ſiege began, the reins of the empire were guided by Guatimoſin.

THE actions of this young prince were all heroic, and all prudent. The fire of his look, the elevation of his diſcourſe, and the brilliancy of his courage, made every impreſſion he wiſhed upon his people. He diſputed the ground foot by foot, and never abandoned a ſingle inch of it, till it was ſtrewed with the carcaſſes of his ſoldiers, and ſtained with the blood of his enemies. Fifty thouſand men, who had haſtened from all parts of the empire to defend their maſter, and their gods, had periſhed by the ſword or by fire; famine occaſioned daily inexpreſſible ravages; to theſe numerous calamities contagious diſeaſes had been added, and yet, all theſe circumſtances had not been capable of ſhaking the firmneſs of his ſoul, even for one ſingle inſtant. The beſiegers, after a number of deſtructive battles, and heavy loſſes, had at length reached the center of the place, which, however, he did not yet think of giving up. He was at laſt prevailed upon to quit theſe ruins, which could no longer be defended, in order to repair to the provinces, and to carry on the war there. In the view of facilitating this retreat, ſome overtures of peace were made to Cortez: but this noble artifice had not the ſucceſs that it deſerved; and the canoe, in which this generous and unfortunate monarch had embarked, was taken by a brigantine. An officer of the Spaniſh revenue, ſuſpecting that he had treaſures

BOOK VI.

treaſures concealed, ordered him to be extended upon red-hot coals, to extort a confeſſion. His favourite, who underwent the ſame torture, complaining to him of his ſufferings, the emperor ſaid, *Am I upon a bed of roſes?* An expreſſion equal to any of thoſe which hiſtory has recorded as worthy the admiration of mankind! an expreſſion which the Mexicans would repeat to their children, if ever the period ſhould arrive, in which the Spaniards ſhall expiate the cruelties they have exerciſed, and that race of deſtroyers ſhall be plunged into the ſea, or drowned in their own blood. Theſe people might, perhaps, have preſerved the actions of their martyrs, and the hiſtory of their perſecutions. In theſe it will be recorded, that Guatimozin was dragged half dead from the flames, and that three years after he was publicly hanged, under pretence of his having conſpired againſt his tyrants and executioners.

Idea we are to form of Mexico before it ſubmitted to Spain.

After ten weeks of a briſk and regular attack, with the aſſiſtance of ſixty or a hundred thouſand Indian allies; and by the ſuperiority of their diſcipline, their arms, and their ſhipping, the Spaniards at length made themſelves maſters of Mexico; and if we may credit the accounts they give, it was a magnificent city. There were thirty thouſand houſes, an immenſe number of inhabitants, and ſome ſuperb edifices within it's walls. The ſovereign's palace, built of marble and jaſpar, was of prodigious extent. It was ornamented with baths, ſtatues, and fountains; and was full of pictures, which, though made only

only of feathers, were finely coloured, brilliant, and natural. Moſt of the great, as well as the emperor, had menageries filled with all the animals of the New Continent. Their gardens were ſpread with plants of every ſpecies. Every production of the ſoil and climate that was ſcarce and brilliant, was an object of luxury to an opulent nation, where nature was beautiful and the arts imperfect. The temples were numerous, and, in general, magnificent; but they were ſtained with blood, and lined with the heads of the unhappy victims that had been ſacrificed in them.

One of the greateſt beauties of this dazzling city, was a ſquare, which was uſually filled with a hundred thouſand perſons, overſpread with tents and ſhops, where the merchants diſplayed all the riches of the country, and all the works of induſtry wrought by the Mexicans. Birds of all colours, brilliant ſhells, a profuſion of flowers, and various pieces of workmanſhip in gold and enamel, gave theſe markets a more beautiful and ſplendid appearance to the eye, than it is poſſible to meet with in the richeſt fairs of Europe.

One hundred thouſand canoes were conſtantly paſſing and repaſſing between the city and the borders of the lakes; which were ornamented with fifty cities, and with a multitude of towns and villages.

The reſt of the empire, as far as the reſpective ſituations would allow, preſented the ſame ſpectacle: but with the difference that is always obſerved between the capital and the provinces. This

BOOK VI.

This nation, the antiquity of which was not very remote, which had no communication with enlightened people, which knew not the uſe of iron, and had not the advantage of writing, which was ignorant of thoſe arts by which we have the advantage of being acquainted with others, and of practiſing them, and which was ſituated in a climate where the faculties of man are not called forth by want, this nation, we are told, had riſen to this degree of eminence by it's genius alone.

This is a pompous deſcription, given in an inſtant of vanity by a conqueror naturally addicted to exaggeration, or deceived by the great ſuperiority which a well-regulated ſtate had over the ſavage regions that had yet been laid waſte in the New Hemiſphere; and the falſity of it may eaſily be made evident to every man's capacity. It is not, however, merely by contraſting the preſent ſtate of Mexico with that in which it's conquerors pretend to have found it, that this can be effected. The deplorable effects of a deſtructive tyranny, and of a long ſeries of oppreſſion are ſufficiently know'n. But let us call to mind the ravages which the barbarians, iſſuing from the North, formerly committed among the Gauls and in Italy. When this torrent had paſſed away, did there not remain upon the earth great monuments which atteſted, and do ſtill atteſt, the power of the people that had been ſubdued? And does the region we are now conſidering, preſent us with ſuch magnificent ruins? We muſt therefore take it for granted, that the public

and

and private edifices, ſo pompouſly deſcribed, were nothing more than irregular maſſes of ſtone heaped upon one another; that the celebrated Mexico was nothing more than a little town, compoſed of a multitude of ruſtic huts, irregularly diſperſed over a large ſpace of ground; and that the other places, the grandeur and beauty of which, it has been cuſtomary to extoll, were ſtill inferior to this firſt of the cities.

The labours of men have always been proportioned to their ſtrength, and to the inſtruments they have made uſe of. Without the ſcience of mechanics, and the invention of it's machines, there can be no great monuments exiſting. Without a quadrant or a teleſcope, there can be no great progreſs made in aſtronomy, no preciſion in obſervations. Without iron, there can be no hammers, no pincers, no anvils, no forges, no ſaws, no axes, no hatchets, no work in metal that can deſerve to be looked at; no maſonry, no carpenter's or joiner's work, no architecture, no engraving, no ſculpture. With all theſe helps, what time does it not take our workmen, to ſeparate from the quarry, raiſe and carry away a block of ſtone? What time to cut into a ſquare? And how could this be effected without the reſources we have? The ſavage would have been a man of great underſtanding, who upon ſeeing, for the firſt time, one of our large buildings, would have admired it, not as the work of our ſtrength and induſtry, but as an extraordinary phœnomenon of nature, which of herſelf ſhould have raiſed thoſe columns, bored thoſe windows,

fixed thoſe entablatures, and prepared ſo wonderful a retreat. It would have been to him the moſt beautiful cavern that the mountains would have ever preſented to his view.

Let us ſtrip Mexico of all that has been beſtowed upon it by fabulous accounts, and we ſhall find that this country, though far ſuperior to the ſavage regions which the Spaniards had yet diſcovered in the New World, was ſtill nothing in compariſon of the civilized nations of the old continent.

The empire was ſubject to a deſpotiſm as cruel as it was ill-concerted. Fear, the great ſpring of arbitrary governments, was ſubſtituted to morality and principles. The chief of the ſtate was gradually become a kind of divinity, which the moſt preſumptuous did not dare to look up to; and of whoſe actions the moſt imprudent would not have ventured to form a judgment. We may readily conceive in what manner citizens purchaſe every day, by the ſacrifice of their liberty, the pleaſures and conveniences of life to which they have been accuſtomed from their infancy: but that people, to whom rude nature offered greater happineſs than that which they enjoyed under the ſocial compact that united them, ſhould quietly remain in a ſtate of ſlavery, without once thinking that there was nothing more than a mountain or a river to croſs, in order to be free; this is a circumſtance that would be incomprehenſible, if we knew not how much the habit of ſuperſtition degrades the human race in all parts.

*

Several

SEVERAL of the provinces which might be conſidered as conſtituting a part of this vaſt dominion, governed themſelves by their primary laws, and according to their antient maxims. Tributaries merely of the empire, they continued ſtill under the controul of their caciques. The obligations impoſed upon theſe great vaſſals, was to cover or to enlarge the frontiers of the ſtate, whenever they were ordered; to contribute continually to the public charges, originally, according to a ſettled rate; but latterly, according to the neceſſities, rapacity, or caprices of the deſpot.

THE adminiſtration of the countries more immediately dependent on the throne, was intruſted to ſome of the great, who were aſſiſted in their functions by nobles of an inferior order. Theſe officers enjoyed, at firſt, a degree of dignity and importance: but they were nothing more than the inſtruments of tyranny, ſince arbitrary power had raiſed itſelf upon the ruins of a government which might have been called feudal.

To each of theſe offices, a portion of land, of greater or leſs extent, was attached. Thoſe who directed the councils, who commanded the armies, or whom their employments detained at court, enjoyed the ſame advantage. Perſons in office changed their dwelling with their occupation, and loſt it as ſoon as they returned into private life.

THERE were ſome poſſeſſions more entire, and which might be alienated or tranſmitted to poſterity. Theſe were few in number; and muſt

have belonged to citizens of the moſt diſtinguiſhed claſs.

THE people had nothing but commons, the extent of which was regulated by the number of inhabitants. In ſome of them the labours were carried on in a community, and the harveſts were depoſited in the public granaries, to be diſtributed as they were wanted; in others, the cultivators divided the fields between them, and tilled them for their own private uſe; but the territory was not allowed to be diſpoſed of in any of them.

SEVERAL diſtricts, more or leſs extenſive, were covered with a kind of bondſmen attached to the glebe, paſſing from one proprietor to another, and not being able to claim any thing more than the coarſeſt and moſt ſcanty ſubſiſtence.

THE men, ſtill more degraded, were the domeſtic ſlaves. Their life was eſteemed ſo contemptible, that, according to the accounts of Herrera, one might deprive them of it, without fear of being ever proſecuted by the law.

ALL the orders of the ſtate contributed to the ſupport of government. In all ſocieties that are a little advanced, taxes are paid in ſpecie. The Mexicans were ignorant of this common meaſure of every kind of value, though gold and ſilver were in their poſſeſſion. They had indeed begun to ſuſpect the utility of an univerſal mode of exchange, and they already employed the ſeeds of the cocoa, in ſome trifling details of commerce: but the uſe of theſe was much limited, and could not be extended to the diſcharge of the taxes.

The

The debts due to the treaſury were therefore all paid in kind.

As all the agents of the public ſervice received their ſalaries in proviſions, a part of what was allotted to them, was kept back as their contribution.

The lands attached to offices, as well as thoſe that were poſſeſſed in property, gave to the ſtate a part of their produce.

Beside the obligation impoſed upon all communities to cultivate a certain extent of ſoil for the crown, they were alſo obliged to cede to it a third part of their harveſts.

Hunters, fiſhermen, potters, painters, and all workmen without diſtinction, gave up the ſame portion of their induſtry every month.

Even the beggars were taxed with certain fixed contributions, which they were obliged to pay from their labour, or from the alms they received.

Agriculture, at Mexico, was very much confined; though it was the only occupation of the majority of the inhabitants. Their cares were reſtrained to the cultivation of maïs and cocoa, and there was even but a ſmall quantity of thoſe productions gathered. Had it been otherwiſe, the firſt Spaniards would not ſo frequently have been in want of ſubſiſtence. The imperfect ſtate of this firſt of the arts might be owen to ſeveral cauſes. Theſe people had a ſtrong propenſity to idleneſs. The inſtruments they made uſe of were faulty. They had not tamed any animal that could aſſiſt them in their

BOOK VI.

labours. Their fields were ravaged by fallow deer, or by wandering people. They were inceſſantly oppreſſed by government. In a word, their natural conſtitution was particularly weak, which aroſe partly from unwholeſome and inſufficient food.

The table of the rich, of the nobles, and of men in office, beſide the produce of the chace, and of fiſhing, was ſupplied with turkeys, ducks, and rabbits, the only animals, except little dogs, which the inhabitants of theſe countries had been able to tame. But the proviſions of the common people conſiſted only of maïs, prepared in different manners; of cocoa, diluted in warm water, and ſeaſoned with honey and pimento; and of the herbs of the fields which were not too hard, or had no bad ſmell. Their drink conſiſted of ſome liquors that could not intoxicate. With reſpect to ſtrong liquors, they were ſo ſtrictly prohibited, that a permiſſion from government was neceſſary to be obtained for uſing them; and it was only granted to old or ſick perſons. At ſome ſolemnities, and in public labours only, every one had a quantity given him proportioned to his age. Drunkenneſs was conſidered as the moſt odious of all vices. Perſons convicted of it, were publicly ſhaved, and their houſe was pulled down. If they were in any public office, they were deprived of it, and declared incapable of ever holding any poſt under government.

The Mexicans were almoſt generally naked. Their bodies were painted; and their heads ſhaded with plumes. Some bones, or ſmall pieces of gold,

gold, according to the rank of the perſons, were faſtened to their noſes and ears. The only clothing the women had, was a kind of ſhift which came down to the knees, and was open at the breaſt. Their chief ornament conſiſted in the arrangement of their hair. Perſons of ſuperior rank, and even the emperor himſelf, were only diſtinguiſhed from the commonalty, by a kind of cloak compoſed of a ſquare piece of cotton, faſtened on the right ſhoulder.

The palace of the prince, and thoſe of the nobles, though rather extenſive, and built of ſtone, had no conveniences, no elegance, nor even any windows. The people dwelt in huts made of earth, and covered with branches of trees. They were prohibited from raiſing them above the ground floor. Several families were frequently heaped together under the ſame roof.

The furniture was worthy of the dwellings. In moſt of them, there was no other carpeting but mats, no other bed than ſtraw, no ſeat but a layer of palm leaves, no utenſils except earthen ware. Cloths and carpets of cotton, wrought with more or leſs care, and employed for various purpoſes, were the chief diſtinctions between the houſes of the rich, and thoſe of the common people.

If the arts of primary neceſſity were in ſo imperfect a ſtate at Mexico, we muſt conclude that thoſe of ornament were ſtill more ſo. The form and workmanſhip of the few vaſes and jewels of gold and ſilver that have been brought to us,

is equally barbarous. The ſame coarſeneſs prevails in thoſe pictures, of which the firſt Spaniards ſpoke with ſo much admiration, and which were compoſed of feathers of all colours. Theſe paintings are no longer exiſting, or are at leaſt very ſcarce; but engravings have been made from them. The artiſt is infinitely below his ſubject, whether he repreſents plants, animals, or men. There is no light, nor ſhade, nor deſign, nor accuracy in his work. Neither had architecture made any greater progreſs in this country. Throughout the whole extent of the empire, there is no antient monument to be found, that hath any kind of majeſty in it; nor are there even any ruins which renew the idea of former greatneſs. The only things Mexico had to boaſt of, were the cauſeways that led up to the capital, and the aqueducts which brought the water for drinking from a very conſiderable diſtance.

The ſciences were ſtill leſs advanced than the arts; and this is the natural conſequence of the ordinary progreſs of the human mind. It is ſcarce poſſible that a people, whoſe civilization was not of antient date, and who could not have received any inſtruction from their neighbours, ſhould have the leaſt extenſive degree of knowlege. All that can be concluded from their religious and political inſtitutions is, that they had made ſome little progreſs in aſtronomy. But how many ages would it have required to enlighten them, ſince they were deprived of the aſſiſtance of writing, and ſince they were ſtill far diſtant from this

powerful,

powerful, and perhaps only mode of acquiring knowlege, as it appears from the imperfection of their hieroglyphics.

These were pictures traced out upon the barks of trees, upon the skins of fallow deer, or upon pieces of cotton; and destined to preserve the memory of the laws, the tenets, and the revolutions of the empire. The number, the colour, and the attitude of the figures, were all varied according to the objects that were meant to be expressed. Although these imperfect signs could not be supposed to have that distinct character which precludes every reasonable doubt, yet we may imagine, that when assisted by the traditions of societies and families, they might convey some information respecting past events. The indifference of the conquerors for every thing that had no reference to their insatiable avidity, made them neglect to inquire for the key of these important depositis. Soon after, their monks looked upon them as monuments of idolatry; and Zummaraga, the first bishop of Mexico, condemned all that could be collected of them to the flames. The little that escaped from this fanatical conflagration, and which has been preserved in one or the other hemisphere, has not contributed to dispel the darkness into which the negligence of the first Spaniards had plunged us.

The æra of the foundation of the empire is even unknow'n. The Castilian historians, indeed, tell us, that before the tenth century, this vast space was inhabited only by some wandering hords that were entirely savage. They tell us,

BOOK VI.

that about this period, ſome tribes iſſuing from the North and North Weſt, occupied parts of the territories, and introduced milder manners. They tell us, that three hundred years after, a people ſtill more advanced in civilization, and coming from the neighbourhood of California, ſettled on the borders of the lakes and built Mexico there. They tell us, that this laſt nation, ſo ſuperior to the others, had, for a long period, nothing but chiefs, whom they raiſed to the government, or deprived them of it, as they found it ſuitable to their intereſts. They tell us, that the authority, which 'till then had been divided and revocable, was concentrated in a ſingle perſon, and became permanent, one hundred and thirty, or one hundred and ninety-ſeven years before the arrival of the Spaniards. They tell us, that the nine monarchs, who ſucceſſively aſcended the throne, gave the domains of the ſtate an extention which they had not had under the former government. But what degree of credit can we reaſonably grant to annals ſo confuſed and contradictory, and filled with the moſt abſurd fables that have ever been propoſed to the credulity of mankind? In order to believe that a ſociety whoſe dominion was ſo extenſive, whoſe inſtitutions were ſo numerous, and whoſe form of worſhip was ſo regular, had ſo modern an origin as it hath been ſaid, we ſhould have other teſtimonies beſide thoſe of the fierce ſoldier, who had neither the neceſſary talents nor the will to examine into any thing; we ſhould have other vouchers beſide thoſe fanatic prieſts, who were intent upon nothing

thing elſe but erecting their own form of worſhip upon the ruin of the ſuperſtitions they found eſtabliſhed there. What ſhould we know of China, if the Portugueſe had been able to ſet it in flames, to ſubvert or deſtroy it, as they have done the Brazils? Should we at this day ſpeak of the antiquity of the Chineſe books, of their laws, and their manners? When ſome philoſophers ſhall have been allowed to penetrate into Mexico, to ſearch for, and to decypher the ruins of their hiſtory, and that theſe learned men ſhall neither be monks nor Spaniards, but either Engliſh or French, who ſhall have full liberty, and all proper means for the diſcovery of truth; then, perhaps, we may gain ſome information concerning the hiſtory of this country, if barbariſm hath not completely deſtroyed all the monuments that could aſſiſt in inveſtigating it.

These inquiries could not, however, lead to an exact knowlege of the antient population of the empire, which, according to the reports of the conquerors, was immenſe. The country places were covered with inhabitants; the towns were crowded with citizens, and the armies were very numerous. Abſurd narrators! have we not been aſſured by you that it was a riſing ſtate; that it was continually diſturbed with obſtinate wars; that all priſoners were either maſſacred upon the field of battle, or ſacrificed to the gods in the temples; that at the death of every emperor, of every cacique, and of every great man, a number of victims, proportioned to their dignity, were ſacrificed on their tombs; that from a prevailing

BOOK VI.

prevailing depraved inclination the women were neglected; that the mothers ſuckled their children for four or five years, and that they became barren at an early period; that the people groaned inceſſantly, and in all parts, under the oppreſſions of the treaſury; that the provinces were covered with corrupted waters and vaſt foreſts; and that the Spaniſh adventurers had more to ſuffer from dearth, than from the length of marches, or the darts of the enemy?

How ſhall we reconcile facts certified by ſo many witneſſes, with that exceſſive population ſo ſolemnly atteſted in your proud annals? Before ſound philoſophy had attentively conſidered your ſtrange contradictions; and when the odium you had draw'n upon yourſelves inſured an implicit faith in your abſurd exaggerations, the univerſe, which ſaw no more than a deſart in Mexico, was perſuaded that you had precipitated numberleſs generations into the grave. Undoubtedly, your ferocious ſoldiers did too often ſtain themſelves with innocent blood; undoubtedly, your fanatic miſſionaries did not oppoſe theſe barbarities as they ought to have done; undoubtedly, a reſtleſs tyranny, and an inſatiable avarice, carried off from this unfortunate part of the world, many of it's feeble children: but ſtill your cruelties were leſs than the nations have reaſon to ſuppoſe, from the accounts given by the hiſtorians of your ravages. And it is I, whom you look upon as the detractor of your character, who, while I accuſe you of ignorance and impoſture, become, as much as poſſible, your apologiſt.

WOULD

Would ye rather chooſe that the number of your aſſaſſinations ſhould be exaggerated, than that your ſtupidity and contradictions ſhould be unmaſked? In this place, I call Heaven to witneſs, I have been attentive only to cleanſe you from the blood with which you ſeem to make it your glory to be covered; and in every other part where I have ſpoken of you, my only deſign hath been to ſuggeſt means of reſtoring your nation to it's former ſplendour, and of alleviating the deſtiny of thoſe wretched people that are ſubject to your empire. If you diſcover in me any ſecret hatred, or any motive of ſelf-intereſt, I give myſelf up to your contempt. Have I treated the other deſtroyers of the New World, even the French, my own countrymen, with more caution? Why, therefore, ſhould you be the only people who are offended? Becauſe you have nothing but pride remaining. Become powerful again, and you will become leſs captious; and truth, while it makes you bluſh, will ceaſe to anger you.

Whatever was the population of Mexico, the taking of the capital occaſioned the ſubjection of the whole ſtate; which was not ſo extenſive as it hath been generally ſuppoſed to be. Upon the South Sea, the empire began only at Nicaragua, and ended at Acapulco: and even part of the coaſts watered by this ocean, had never been ſubdued. Upon the North Sea, there was ſcarce any thing that interſected it from the river of Tabaſco to that of Panuco: but in the inland parts, Tlaſcala, Tepeaca, Mechoacan, Chiapa, and

BOOK VI.

and ſome other leſs conſiderable diſtricts, had preſerved their independence. Their freedom was taken from them in leſs than a year by the conqueror, who found it ſufficient to ſend ten, fifteen, or twenty horſe, to preclude all reſiſtance; and before the end of the year 1522, the provinces, which had rejected the laws of the Mexicans, and rendered the communication between their poſſeſſions difficult or impracticable, conſtituted all a part of the Spaniſh dominion. In proceſs of time, it acquired immenſe additions on the northern ſide. Theſe would even have been more conſiderable, and particularly more uſeful, had it not been for the incredible barbarities that accompanied or followed the acquiſition of them.

As ſoon as the Caſtilians had made themſelves maſters of Mexico, they divided the beſt lands among themſelves; they reduced to ſlavery the people who had cleared them, and condemned them to labours incompatible with the nature of their conſtitution, and repugnant to their habits. This ſyſtem of general oppreſſion excited conſiderable inſurrections. Theſe aroſe without a concurrence of meaſures, without a chief to direct them, and without a plan; they were the effect of deſpair alone; and ended to the diſadvantage of the too unfortunate Indians. An irritated conqueror, with fire and ſword in hand, paſſed with extreme rapidity from one extremity of the empire to the other, and left in all parts memorable traces of vengeance, the details of which would make the moſt bloody minded men ſhudder. There was a bar-

a barbarous emulation between the officer and the ſoldier, which ſhould ſacrifice moſt victims; and even the commander himſelf, perhaps, ſurpaſſed his troops and lieutenants in ferocity.

CORTEZ, however, did not reap the advantages he might expect from ſo many acts of inhumanity. It began to be a maxim of policy in the court of Madrid, not to leave ſuch of her ſubjects as had ſignalized themſelves by ſome important diſcovery, time enough to ſettle themſelves in their authority, from the apprehenſion, well or ill founded, that they might think of rendering themſelves independent of the Crown. If the conqueror of Mexico did not give a reaſon for adopting ſuch a ſyſtem, he was at leaſt one of the firſt victims of it. The unlimited powers he had at firſt enjoyed, were daily curtailed; and in proceſs of time, they were ſo exceedingly reſtrained, that he preferred a private ſituation to the vain appearances of an authority accompanied with the greateſt diſguſt. This Spaniard was deſpotic and cruel; and his ſucceſſes are tarniſhed by the injuſtice of his projects. He was an aſſaſſin covered with innocent blood: but his vices were of the times, and of his nation, and his virtues were his own. Let us place this man among the antients; let us give him another country, another education, another turn of mind, other manners, and a different religion. Let us put him at the head of the fleet that advanced againſt Xerxes; or reckon him among the Spartans at the Streights of Thermopylæ; or ſuppoſe him to be

BOOK VI.

one of thoſe generous Batavians who freed themſelves from the tyranny of their countrymen, and Cortez will appear a great man. His qualities will become heroic, and his memory will be irreproachable. Had Cæſar been born in the fifteenth century, and commanded at Mexico, he would have been a worſe man than Cortez. To find an excuſe for the faults that have been laid to his charge, we muſt aſk ourſelves what better expectations we could have formed of a man, who treads for the firſt time upon unknow'n regions, and whoſe firſt object is to provide for his own ſafety? It would be highly unjuſt to confound him with the peaceable founder, who is acquainted with the country, and regulates the meaſures, the ſpace, and the time, at pleaſure.

External and internal troubles with which Mexico has been agitated ſince it has become a Spaniſh poſſeſſion.

SINCE Mexico had been ſubjected to the Caſtilians, this immenſe country was no longer expoſed to invaſion. It's provinces were not ravaged by any neighbouring or diſtant enemy. The peace it enjoyed was not diſturbed from without, except by pirates. In the South Sea, the enterprizes of theſe robbers were confined to the taking of a few ſhips: but in the North Sea, they pillaged Campeachy once, and Vera-Cruz twice; and they frequently ſpread devaſtation upon coaſts leſs know'n, leſs opulent, and not ſo well defended.

WHILE the navigation and the ſhores of this wealthy region were a prey to the pirates, and to the ſquadrons of the nations diſguſted at the ambition of Spain, or merely jealous of it's ſuperiority,

riority, the Chichemecas disturbed the interior part of the empire. If we give credit to Herrera and Torquemada, these were the people who occupied the best parts of the country before the arrival of the Mexicans. To avoid the yoke destined for them by the conqueror, they took refuge in caverns and mountains, where their natural ferocity increased, and where they lead entirely the life of beasts. The new revolution which had just changed the state of the former country, did not incline them to milder manners; and what they saw or learnt of the character of the Spaniards, inspired them with implacable hatred against a nation so proud and so oppressive. This passion, always terrible among savages, manifested itself by the ravages they committed in all the settlements formed in their neighbourhood, and by the cruelties they exercised upon those who attempted to open the mines. In vain had forts and garrisons been stationed upon the frontiers, to contain or suppress them; their rage continued incessantly 'till the year 1592. At this period, captain Caldena persuaded them to put an end to their hostilities. In the view of rendering these pacific sentiments durable, the government made them build dwellings, collected them into several villages, and sent among them four hundred Tlascalan families, who were commissioned to instruct them in some arts, and to teach agriculture to a people who had hitherto been clothed only with the skins of beasts, and had lived entirely by hunting,

ing, or upon the ſpontaneous productions of nature. It was long before theſe prudent meaſures ſucceeded. The Chichemecas refuſed for a long time to receive the inſtructions the government had undertaken to give them, and even rejected every kind of intercourſe with benevolent and American teachers. It was not 'till the year 1608, that Spain was freed from the care of cloathing and feeding them.

EIGHTEEN years after, a moſt violent conteſt happened between the civil and eccleſiaſtical power at Mexico. A man convicted of a multitude of crimes, ſought impunity for all his enormities at the foot of the altars. The viceroy Gelves cauſed him to be dragged from thence. This act of neceſſary juſtice was conſtrued into an outrage againſt the divinity. The thunder of excommunication was immediately ſent forth; and the people roſe. The regular and ſecular clergy took up arms. The palace of the commander was burnt; his guards, friends, and partizans, were put to the ſword. He himſelf was put in irons and ſent to Europe, with ſeventy gentlemen who had not been afraid to eſpouſe his cauſe. The archbiſhop, who was the author of all theſe calamities, and whoſe vengeance was not yet ſatisfied, purſued his victim, with the wiſh and deſire of ſacrificing him. The Court, after having heſitated for ſome time, decided at length in favour of fanaticiſm. The defender of the rights of the throne, and of order, was condemned to total oblivion; and his ſucceſſor

was

was authorized ſolemnly to conſecrate all the notions of ſuperſtition, and particularly the ſuperſtition of aſylums.

THE word aſylum, taken in it's full extent, might ſignify any place, privilege, or diſtinction, that protects a criminal from the impartial exerciſe of juſtice. For what is the claim that weakens and ſuſpends the authority of the law? An aſylum. What is the place of confinement that withdraws the guilty from the priſon common to all malefactors? An aſylum. What is a retreat where the creditor cannot go and ſeize upon his fraudulent debtor? An aſylum. What is a diſtrict where one may exerciſe all the functions of ſociety without authority, and in a country where all the reſt of the citizens cannot obtain that privilege without a præmium? An aſylum. What is a tribunal to which one may appeal from a definitive ſentence pronounced by another, which is ſuppoſed to be the laſt reſort of the law? An aſylum. What is an excluſive privilege, for whatever motive it may have been ſolicited and obtained? An aſylum. In an empire, where the citizens partaking unequally of the advantages of ſociety do not ſhare the burdens of it in proportion to theſe advantages, what are the different diſtinctions that relieve ſome at the expence of others? They are aſylums.

THE aſylums of the tyrant, of the prieſt, of the ſtateſman, of the nobleman, of the contractor, and of the merchant, are well know'n; and I could name thoſe of almoſt all the ranks of ſociety. What portion is there indeed of ſociety

BOOK VI.

that hath not a protection for a certain number of malverſations, which it may commit with impunity?

THE moſt dangerous of aſylums, however, is not that into which a man may make his eſcape, but that which he carries about with him, that which accompanies and inveſts the guilty perſon, which ſerves him as a ſhield, and which forms between him and me an incloſure in the center of which he ſtands, and from whence he may inſult me, while puniſhment cannot reach him. Such are the eccleſiaſtical habit and character. Both the one and the other were formerly a ſort of aſylum, where the impunity of the moſt flagitious crimes was almoſt aſſured. Is this privilege entirely aboliſhed? We have frequently ſeen monks and prieſts throw'n into priſon; but we ſcarce have ever ſeen any of them taken out from thence to be conveyed to the public place of execution.

WHAT! becauſe a man is obliged by his profeſſion to have a peculiar ſanctity of manners, ſhall he obtain privileges, and be treated with a commiſeration that ſhall be refuſed to the criminal who is not bound by the ſame obligations? If it be urged, that there is a reſpect due to his functions, to his cloth, and to his character; we ſhall anſwer, that juſtice is equally and without diſtinction due to every citizen. If the ſword of the law be not moved indiſcriminately in every direction; if it ſhould be unſteady, or if it ſhould be raiſed or lowered in favour of any one it may meet with in it's paſſage, that ſociety is not well

regulated. There exiſts in it, under another name, and under another form, a deteſtable privilege, a protection denied to ſome, and reſerved for others.

But theſe kinds of aſylum, though generally contrary to the proſperity of ſocieties, ſhall not here engage our attention. We ſhall only ſpeak of thoſe which temples or places of divine worſhip have afforded, and ſtill continue to afford, in ſeveral parts of the globe.

These places of refuge were know'n to the antients. In Greece, when that country was ſtill but half civilized, it was thought that tyranny could not be reſtrained otherwiſe than by religion. The ſtatues of Hercules, of Theſeus, and of Pirithoüs, ſeemed well calculated to inſpire villains with terror, when they had no longer the vengeance of theſe heroes to dread. But as ſoon as the aſylum, inſtituted in favour of innocence, ſerved only for the preſervation of the guilty, and was made ſubſervient either to the intereſts or vanity of thoſe who granted the protection, theſe places of retreat were aboliſhed.

Other people, in imitation of the Greeks, eſtabliſhed aſylums. But the citizen uſed to put himſelf under the protection of the gods, merely to avoid the armed hand that purſued him. There, he called upon the law, and ſummoned the people to his aſſiſtance. His fellow citizens, together with the magiſtrate, drew near, and the man was examined before them. If it was found that he had abuſed the aſylum, he received a double puniſhment; one for the crime he had

committed, the other for having profaned the place in which he had taken refuge.

When Romulus wanted to people his city, he made an aſylum of it; and ſome temples, in the times of the republic, were devoted to this purpoſe. After the death of Julius Cæſar, the triumvirate made an aſylum of his chapel. In after ages, the ſervility of the people frequently erected the ſtatues of tyrants into places of refuge. From thence it was that the ſlave inſulted his maſter; and that the diſturber of public tranquillity ſtirred up the populace againſt good men.

This horrible inſtitution of barbariſm and paganiſm occaſioned inexpreſſible evils; when Chriſtianity, aſcending the throne of the empire, did not ſcruple to adopt and even to extend it. The conſequences of this eccleſiaſtical policy were ſoon ſeverely felt. The laws loſt their authority, and the order of ſociety was ſubverted. The magiſtrate then attacked theſe aſylums with courage; the prieſt defended them with obſtinacy. A warm conteſt was carried on for many centuries with great animoſity. The party that prevailed under the reign of a firm prince, was depreſſed under that of a ſuperſtitious one. Sometimes this aſylum was general, and ſometimes it was under reſtrictions. It was annihilated at one period, and reſtored at another.

In an inſtitution ſo evidently contrary to natural equity, to civil law, to the ſanctity of religion, to the ſpirit of the goſpel, and to the good order of ſociety, the circumſtances that ſhould

ſhould naturally tend moſt to aſtoniſh us are, it's duration, the diverſity of the objects of the edicts of the emperors, the contradiction of the canons, and the obſtinacy of ſeveral biſhops; but more eſpecially the extravagant abſurdity of the lawyers, in determining, with preciſion, the extent of the aſylum, according to the ſize or title of the reſpective churches. If it was a great church, the aſylum was to extend a certain number of feet beyond it's circumference; if a ſmall church, it was to be leſs extenſive, and ſtill leſs if it was a chapel: the protection was the ſame, whether the church were conſecrated or not.

It is very extraordinary, that in a long ſucceſſion of generations, not one monarch, not one eccleſiaſtic, not one magiſtrate, not even one ſingle man, ſhould have reminded his cotemporaries of the bright days of Chriſtianity. Formerly, he might have ſaid to them, the ſinner was detained for years at the gate of the temple, where he expiated his fault, expoſed to the injuries of the air, in the preſence of all his brethren, and of all the citizens. He was not allowed to enter the church, except by degrees; nor to approach the ſanctuary, but in proportion as his penance drew near to an end. And in our days, a villain, an extortioner, a thief, and an aſſaſſin covered with blood, not only finds the gates of our temples open to him; but alſo meets with protection, impunity, food, and ſecurity.

But if the aſſaſſin had plunged his dagger into the breaſt of a citizen, even upon the ſteps of the altar, what muſt be done in that caſe? Shall the

BOOK VI.

place of the bloody ſcene become his aſylum? This would certainly be a privilege very convenient for criminals. Why ſhould they murder in the ſtreets, in the houſes, or upon the highways, where they may be ſeized; ſhould they not rather chooſe to aſſaſſinate in the churches? There never was a more diſguſting inſtance of the contempt of the laws, and of the ambition of the clergy, than this immunity granted by the churches. It was reſerved to ſuperſtition to make the Supreme Being, in this world, the protector of the ſame crimes which he puniſhes in another with eternal ſufferings. Let us hope that the extremity of the evil will point out more ſenſibly the neceſſity of the remedy.

THIS fortunate revolution will be brought about later at other places than at Mexico, where the people are plunged in a ſtate of ſtill more profound ignorance than in the other regions ſubject to Caſtille. In 1732, the conſpiring elements ſwallowed up one of the richeſt fleets that had ever been diſpatched from this opulent part of the New World. Univerſal deſpair prevailed in the two hemiſpheres. Amongſt a people plunged in ſuperſtition, all events are miraculous; and the anger of Heaven was generally conſidered as the ſole cauſe of this great diſaſter, which might very poſſibly have been brought about by the inexperience of the pilot, or by other cauſes equally natural. An *auto da fé* appeared to be the ſureſt method of recovering the divine favour; and thirty-eight wretched people periſhed in the flames, the victims of ſo deplorable an infatuation.

METHINKS

METHINKS I am present at this horrible expiation. I behold it, and exclaim; 'Stop, 'execrable monsters! What connexion is there 'between the calamity you have experienced and 'the pretended or real crime of those whom you 'detain in your prisons? If they entertain opi-'nions which render them odious to the Al-'mighty, it belongs to him to crush them with 'his thunder. He hath borne with them for a 'great number of years, and still continues to 'bear with them, and yet you torment them. 'If it were his will to condemn them to eternal 'punishments on the terrible day of his ven-'geance, does it belong to you to accelerate 'their chastisement? Why should you deprive 'them of the instant of repentance, which per-'haps awaits them, in the decline of life, in the 'hour of danger, or the period of sickness? 'But infamous wretches as ye are, dissolute 'priests, and libidinous monks, were not your 'crimes sufficient to stir up the anger of Heaven? 'Correct yourselves; prostrate yourselves at the 'foot of the altars, cover yourselves with sack-'cloth and ashes; implore the mercy of the Most 'High, rather than employ yourselves in leading 'to the stake a number of innocent persons, 'whose death, far from wiping away your crimes, 'will only increase the number of them, by 'thirty-eight more, for which you will never be 'forgiven. To appease the Deity, ye burn man-'kind! Are ye worshippers of Moloch?" But ye hear me not; and the unfortunate victims of

BOOK VI.

your ſuperſtitious cruelty are already caſt into the flames.

Soon after this, the New Mexico, which was bordering and dependent upon the Old, was afflicted with a calamity of another kind. This vaſt region, ſituated, for the moſt part, under the temperate zone, was for a time unknown to the ravagers of America. The miſſionary Ruys firſt penetrated into it in 1580. He was ſoon after followed by the captain Eſpajo, and, laſtly, by John d'Onaſte; who, by a ſeries of labours, begun in 1599, and terminated in 1611, ſucceeded in opening ſome mines, in multiplying cattle and means of ſubſiſtence, and in ſettling firmly the Spaniſh dominion. The order he had eſtabliſhed was diſturbed in 1652 by civil commotions. In the courſe of theſe animoſities, Roſas the commandant was aſſaſſinated; and his friends, who attempted to avenge his death, periſhed after him. Theſe acts of violence continued till the tardy arrival of Pagnaloſſe. This intrepid and ſevere commander had almoſt ſtifled the rebellion, when, in a tranſport of juſt indignation, he gave a blow to a turbulent monk, who was ſpeaking to him in an inſolent manner, and even dared to threaten him. The prieſts, who were maſters of the country, immediately ſeized upon his perſon. He was excommunicated, delivered up to the inquiſition, and ſentenced to conſiderable fines. In vain did he urge the court to avenge the royal authority inſulted in his perſon; the influence of his enemies prevailed over

over his ſolicitations. Their rage and their power made him even apprehend a more fatal deſtiny; and in order to avoid their daggers, and to withdraw himſelf from their intrigues, he took refuge in England, abandoning the reins of government to whoever would or could get hold of them. His flight plunged the province into freſh misfortunes; and it was not 'till after ten years of anarchy and carnage, that every thing was brought again into order and ſubjection.

'CAN any thing be more abſurd than this authority of the monks in America? They are a ſet of men without knowlege and without principles; their independence tramples upon their inſtitutions, and makes them regardleſs of their vows; their conduct is ſcandalous, their houſes are ſo many places of evil reſort, and their tribunals of penance ſo many trading ſhops. From thence it is, that for a piece of money they quiet the conſcience of the villain; from thence it is, that they inſinuate corruption into innocent minds, and that they ſeduce women and girls into debauchery: they are a ſet of ſimoniſts, who make a public traffic of holy things. The Chriſtianity they teach, is defiled with all ſorts of abſurdities. Greedy of inheritancy, they defraud, rob, and perjure themſelves. They degrade the magiſtrates, and thwart them in their operations. There are no crimes which they cannot commit with impunity. They inſpire the people with a ſpirit of rebellion. They are ſo many encouragers of ſuperſtition, and the cauſe of all the troubles that have agitated theſe diſtant regions,

regions. As long as they exiſt there they will keep up anarchy, from the confidence, as blind as it is unlimited, which they have obtained of the people, and from the puſillanimity with which they have inſpired the depoſitaries of the authority, whom they diſpoſe of at pleaſure by their intrigues. Let us therefore inquire of what great utility they are. Are they informers? A wiſe adminiſtration hath no need of them. Are they to be managed as a counterpoiſe to the power of the viceroy? This is an idle apprehenſion. Are they tributaries of the great? This is an evil that muſt be put a ſtop to. Under whatever aſpect we conſider matters, the monks are a ſet of wretches, who ſcandalize and diſturb Mexico too much to be allowed to remain there any longer.

Subjection and order were again diſturbed, and more generally ſo in 1593, by a law which forbade the Indians the uſe of ſtrong liquors. This prohibition could not have for it's object the liquors of Europe, which were neceſſarily too high priced ever to be uſed by men living in a conſtant ſtate of oppreſſion, and inceſſantly ſtripped of their property. It was only from the palm-wine that the government endeavoured to wean them.

This liquor is draw'n from a plant know'n at Mexico by the name of maguey, and reſembling the aloës in it's form. It's leaves, collected about the neck of the root, are thick, pulpous, almoſt ſtraight, ſeveral feet in length, hollowed in the form of a gutter, thorny on the back,

back, and terminated by a very ſharp point. The ſtem, which riſes out of this tuft, aſcends to twice it's heighth, and bears upon it's branching top yellowiſh flowers. Their calix, with ſix diviſions, is charged with an equal number of ſtamina. It adheres at the bottom to the piſtil, which, together with it, becomes a capſula with three cells filled with ſeeds. The maguey grows in every part of Mexico, and is eaſily multiplied from ſlips. Hedges are made of it. It's ſeveral parts have each of them their utility. The roots are employed for cordage; the ſtems furniſh wood; the points of the leaves ſerve for nails, or needles; and even the leaves themſelves are fit for thatching the roofs; and a thread is produced from them fit for the manufacture of various looms.

But the moſt eſteemed produce of the maguey is a ſweet and clear water, which is collected by means of a hole made with an inſtrument in the middle of the tuft, after the ſhoots and the inward leaves are removed. This hole, which is three or four inches deep, is filled and emptied every day; and the liquor continues running in this manner for a whole year, ſometimes even for eighteen months. This liquor, when inſpiſſated, forms a real ſugar; but when mixed with ſpring water, and laid by in vaſes, it acquires, after having fermented four or five days, the ſharpneſs of cyder, and almoſt the ſame kind of taſte. If orange or lemon peel be added to it, it becomes intoxicating. This property renders it ſtill more agreeable to the Mexicans, who not being able

to

BOOK VII.

to conſole themſelves for the loſs of their liberty, endeavour to forget the humiliating ſtate of their ſlavery. Accordingly, the attention of the Indians is continually turned towards the houſes where this liquor is diſtributed. They paſs whole days and weeks there; they leave the ſubſiſtence of their families in them, and very frequently the few clothes they have.

The Spaniſh miniſtry, informed of theſe exceſſes, wiſhed to put a ſtop to them; but did not ſet about it in a proper manner. Inſtead of bringing back the people to good morals by paternal cares, and by the moſt effectual mode of inſtruction, they had recourſe to the fatal expedient of prohibitions. The minds of men grew heated, ſeditions were multiplied, and acts of violence repeated, from one extremity of the empire to the other. The government was obliged to give way; and withdrew theſe prohibitive acts: but to indemnify itſelf for the ſacrifice of it's authority, taxes were laid upon this liquor, which bring in annualy to the treaſury eleven or twelve thouſand livres *.

Five and twenty or thirty years after this, a new ſcene of a particular kind was opened at Mexico. In this important poſſeſſion, the police was ſo much neglected, that all the roads were ſeized upon by a numerous band of robbers. No citizen could venture to go out of his houſe without a paſſport from the chiefs of theſe banditti. Whether from careleſſneſs, weakneſs, or

* From 458l. 6s. 8d. to 500l.

corruption,

corruption, the magiſtrate took no meaſures to put an end to ſo great a calamity. At length, the court of Madrid, rouzed by the clamours of a whole nation, committed the care of the public ſecurity to Valeſquès. This equitable, firm, and ſtrict man, independent of the tribunals and the viceroy, ſucceeded at length in re-eſtabliſhing order, and fixing it upon ſo firm a baſis, that it hath never ſince been ſhaken.

A WAR undertaken againſt the people of Cinaloa, Sonora, and New Navarre, hath been the laſt remarkable event that hath diſturbed the empire. Theſe provinces, ſituated between Old and New Mexico, did not make a part of Montezuma's dominions. It was not 'till 1540, that the devaſtators of the New World penetrated into them, under the command of Vaſquès Coronado. They found there ſome petty nations, who, upon the borders of the ſea, lived by fiſhing, and in the inland parts upon the produce of the chaſe; and who, when theſe means of ſubſiſtence failed them, had no other reſource than in the ſpontaneous productions of nature. In theſe diſtricts, neither clothing nor huts were in uſe. Branches of trees to ſhade them from the heats of a burning ſun; and reeds tied together to ſhelter them from the torrents of rain: theſe were the only contrivances thought of by the inhabitants to guard againſt the inclemency of the ſeaſons. During the ſevereſt froſts they ſlept in the open air, round the fires which they had kindled.

THIS

BOOK VI.

This country, in appearance ſo poor, contained mines, which ſome Spaniards undertook to work. They were found to yield plentifully; and yet the greedy proprietors of them did not enrich themſelves. As it was neceſſary to bring from Vera-Crux, upon the back of mules, through a difficult and dangerous road of ſix or ſeven hundred leagues, the quickſilver, the ſtuffs, and moſt of the articles required for ſubſiſtence and for the labours, all theſe objects, when they arrived at the ſpot, had increaſed ſo much in value, that the moſt fortunate undertaking ſcarce furniſhed a ſufficiency to pay for them.

It became neceſſary to abandon the whole, or to take other meaſures; the laſt of theſe ſchemes was reſolved upon. The Jeſuit Ferdinand Conſang was commiſſioned, in 1746, to reconnoitre the gulph of California, which borders theſe immenſe regions. After this navigation, conducted with ſkill, the Court of Madrid became acquainted with the coaſts of the continent, with the harbours that nature has formed there, with the ſandy and arid places that are not ſuſceptible of cultivation, and with the rivers, which, by the fertility they diffuſe along their borders, invite to the eſtabliſhing of colonies in thoſe parts. Nothing, in future, could prevent the ſhips that ſailed out of Acapulco, from entering the Vermeil Sea; from conveying with eaſe into the neighbouring provinces, miſſionaries, troops, miners, proviſions, merchandize, and every thing that was wanted for the colonies, and from returning laden with metals.

In

In the mean while, it was indiſpenſably neceſſary previouſly to gain over the natives of the country by acts of humanity, or to ſubdue them by force of arms. But how was it poſſible to conciliate men who were to be uſed as beaſts of burden, or to be buried alive within the bowels of the earth? Accordingly, the government reſolved upon force; and war was deferred only from the incapacity in an exhauſted treaſury to bear the expence of it. At length, in 1768, a credit of twelve hundred thouſand livres * was found, and hoſtilities commenced. Some hords of ſavages ſubmitted after a trifling reſiſtance. This was not the caſe with the Aplachians, the moſt warlike of theſe nations, and the moſt eager for independence. They were purſued without intermiſſion for three years, with a view of exterminating them. Great God! what an idea! To exterminate men! Could we ſay otherwiſe of wolves? Exterminate them, and for what? Becauſe they were a high-minded people, and were ſenſible of the natural right they had to liberty; becauſe they diſdained to be ſlaves. And yet we call ourſelves civilized people, and Chriſtians!

The diſtance of both the antient and new conqueſts from the center of authority, gave reaſon to think that they would be in a languid ſtate, 'till they ſhould be furniſhed with an independent adminiſtration. A particular commander was therefore given to them, who, with a title

* 50,000 l.

leſs

BOOK VI.

leſs pompous than that of Viceroy of New Spain, enjoyed the ſame prerogatives.

Progreſs of Mexico under the government of Spain.

We muſt now examine to what degree of proſperity Mexico hath riſen, notwithſtanding the enormous loſſes it has experienced from foreign enemies, and notwithſtanding the domeſtic troubles with which it hath ſo frequently been agitated.

The largeſt of the Cordeleirias mountains, after having croſſed all South America, becomes lower and narrower in the iſthmus of Panama; continues in the ſame form through the provinces of Coſta-Rieca, Nicaragua, and Guatimala; ſpreads itſelf and riſes again throughout the reſt of Mexico, but without ever approaching to that prodigious height which it hath in Peru. This alteration is more particularly remarkable towards the South Sea. The ſhores here are extremely deep, and no bottom is to be found except very near the land; while in the Northern Sea, it is found at a great diſtance from the continent. Accordingly, the roads are as good and as frequent in the firſt of theſe ſeas, as they are ſcarce and bad in the other.

The climate of a region ſituated almoſt entirely in the torrid zone, is alternately damp and hot. Theſe variations are more perceptible and more common in the low, marſhy, woody, and uncultivated diſtricts of the Eaſt, than in thoſe parts of the empire, which beneficent nature hath treated more favourably.

The quality of the ſoil is alſo very different. Sometimes it is barren, ſometimes fertile, ac-

cording as it is mountainous, level, or ſunk under the waters.

No ſooner were the Spaniards maſters of this opulent and immenſe country, than they haſtened to build cities upon it, in thoſe places which appeared to them beſt calculated for the maintenance of their authority, and in thoſe which promiſed them greater advantages from their conqueſt. Such of the Europeans as choſe to fix there, obtained a ſufficient extent of territory; but they were obliged to ſearch for planters, whom the law did not allow them.

ANOTHER arrangement of things was obſerved in the country places. They were moſt of them diſtributed to the conquerors in reward of their blood or their ſervices. The extent of theſe domains, which were only granted for two or three generations, was proportioned to rank and favour. A greater or leſs number of Mexicans were attached to them as vaſſals. Cortez had three and twenty thouſand of them in the provinces of Mexico, Tlaſcala, Mechoacan, and Oaxaca, but with this diſtinction, that they were to belong to his family in perpetuity. Oppreſſion muſt have been leſs ſevere in theſe hereditary poſſeſſions than in the reſt of the empire, ſince in 1746, fifteen thouſand nine hundred and forty Indians were ſtill reckoned there, with eighteen hundred Spaniards, Meſtees, or Mulattoes, and ſixteen hundred negro ſlaves.

THE country had none of the animals neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of it's new inhabitants, for plowing the lands and for the other wants

BOOK VI.

inſeparable from a mixed ſociety. Theſe things were all brought from the iſlands already ſubjected to Caſtile, which had themſelves lately received them from our hemiſphere. The animals propagated with incredible rapidity. But they all of them degenerated; and how indeed was it poſſible that they ſhould not have experienced very evident alterations, when they were weakened by croſſing the ſeas, deprived of their ordinary food, and given up to the hands of perſons who were incapable of rearing and taking care of them? The ſheep were the moſt materially affected. Mendoza had ſome rams brought from Spain in order to renew the degenerated race; and ſince that period, the fleeces have been found of a ſufficient good quality to ſupply materials for conſiderable manufactures.

The multiplication of the cattle brought on a great increaſe in the cultures. To the maiſe, which had always been the principal food of the Mexicans, the grains of our countries were added. At firſt they did not thrive. The ſeeds of them, throw'n at hazard among the briars, did not at firſt yield any thing but thick and barren weeds. A vegetation too rapid and too vigorous, did not allow them time to ripen, nor even to form themſelves: but this ſuperabundance of juices gradually diminiſhed; and at length moſt of our ſeeds, vegetables, and fruits were ſeen to proſper. If the vine and the olive tree were not naturalized in this part of the New World, this was owen to the prohibition of government, which intended to leave a mart

open for the productions of the mother-country. Perhaps the ſoil and the climate would themſelves have rejected theſe precious plants; at leaſt we have an authority for thinking ſo, when we ſee that the experiments which the Jeſuits, and the heirs of Cortez were allowed to try, about the year 1706, were not ſucceſsful, and that thoſe which have been ſince made, have not been much more ſo.

COTTON, tobacco, cocoa, ſugar, and ſome other productions, were in general proſperous: but for want of hands or induſtry, theſe articles were confined to an inland circulation. There is nothing but jalap, vanilla, indigo, and cochineal, which conſtitutes the trade of New Spain with other nations.

Of the culture of jalap.

JALAP is one of the purgatives of moſt frequent uſe in medicine. It derives it's name from the town of Xalapa, in the environs of which it grows plentifully. It's root, which is the only part in uſe, is tuberoſe, large, lengthened out into the form of a French turnip, white on the inſide, and full of a milky juice. The plant which it produces, hath been for a long time unknow'n. At preſent, we are informed, that it is a ſpecies of convolvulus, reſembling in it's appearance that of our hedges. It's ſtem is climbing, angular, and covered with a ſlight down. It's leaves, alternately diſpoſed, are rather large, downy on the upper ſide, and wrinkled on the under, and marked with ſeven coſtæ: they are ſometimes entire and cordiform, ſometimes divided into ſeveral lobes, more or leſs diſtinct. The flowers,

BOOK VI.

which grow in clusters along the stem, have a calix, acorn-like at it's base, deeply divided into five parts, and accompanied with two flowery leaves. The corolla, which is large, and campaniform, whitish on the outside, and of a dark purple within, supports five white stamina of unequal length. The germen, which is placed in the middle, and surmounted with a single style, becomes, as it ripens, a round capsula, including in a single cell four seeds of a red colour, and very hairy.

This plant is not only found in the neighbourhood of Xalapa, but also among the sands of Vera-Crux. It is easily cultivated. The weight of the roots is from twelve to twenty pounds. They are cut into slices, in order to dry them. They then acquire a brown colour, and a resinous appearance. The taste of them is rather acrid, and excites a nausea. The best jalap is close, resinous, brown, not easily broken, and inflammable. It is given only in small doses, because it is an active and violent purgative. It's resinous extract, made with spirit of wine, is employed for the same purposes, but with still greater caution. There are seven thousand five hundred quintals of this root consumed annually in Europe, which cost 972,000 livres *.

Of the culture of the vanilla.

The vanilla is a plant which, like the ivy, grows to the trees it meets with, covers them almost entirely, and raises itself by their aid. It's stem, of the thickness of the little finger, is greenish, fleshy, almost cylindrical, knotty at

* 40,541 l. 13 s. 4 d.

intervals,

intervals, and ſarmentoſe, as that of the vine. Each knot is furniſhed with an alternate leaf, rather thick, of an oval ſhape, eight inches long and three broad. It alſo puſhes forth roots, which penetrating the barks of the trees, extracts a ſufficient degree of nouriſhment from them to ſupport the plant for ſome time in vigour, when by accident the bottom of the ſtem happens to be damaged, or even ſeparated from the principal root. This ſtem, when grow'n to a certain height, branches out, ſpreads ſideways, and is covered with cluſters of flowers, rather large, white on the inſide, and greeniſh without. Five of the diviſions of their calix are long, narrow, and undulated. The ſixth, which is more internal, appears in the form of a horn. The piſtil, which they crown, ſupports a ſingle ſtamina. It becomes, as it ripens, a fleſhy fruit, formed like a pod, of ſeven or eight inches long, which opens into three valves loaded with ſmall ſeeds.

This plant grows naturally in uncultivated lands that are are always damp, ſometimes under water, and covered with large trees; from whence it may be inferred, that ſuch a kind of ſoil is the fitteſt for it's cultivation. In order to multiply it, it is ſufficient to plant at the foot of the trees ſome branches or twigs, which take root and riſe up in a ſhort time. Some cultivators, in order to preſerve their plants from rotting, prefer the faſtening of them to trees, even at the height of a foot from the ground. Theſe plants ſoon throw out filaments, which deſcending in a ſtrait line, penetrate into the earth, and form roots there.

THE ſeaſon for gathering the pods begins towards the end of September, and laſts about three months. The aromatic that is peculiar to them cannot be obtained without preparation. This preparation conſiſts in threading ſeveral pods, and dipping them for a moment in a caldron of boiling water to whiten them. They are afterwards ſuſpended in a place expoſed to the open air, and to the rays of the ſun. A thick and plentiful liquor then diſtils from their extremity, the exit of which is facilitated by a ſlight preſſure, repeated two or three times in the courſe of the day. In order to retard the drying, which ought to go on ſlowly, they are rubbed over at ſeveral different times with oil, which preſerves their ſuppleneſs, and keeps them from inſects. They are alſo tied round with a cotton thread to prevent them from opening. When they are ſufficiently dried, they are rubbed in hands anointed with oil, and they are put into a pot that is varniſhed, in order to keep them freſh.

THIS is all that is know'n of the vanilla, which is particularly appropriated to perfume chocolate; the uſe of which has paſſed from the Mexicans to the Spaniards, and from them to other nations; and even this information, which we have obtained concerning it, is entirely modern, and owen to a French naturaliſt. It is not poſſible, that the maſters of this part of the New World, notwithſtanding the indifference they have hitherto ſhew'n for the hiſtory of nature, ſhould not have better information upon this matter. If they have not communicated it, it

is

is becauſe they have been deſirous of reſerving this production excluſively to themſelves, although only fifty quintals of it are annually brought to Europe, where they are not ſold for more than 431,568 livres *. The time will come when this matter ſhall be brought to light, and then the vanilla will be as generally know'n as the indigo is at preſent.

Of the culture of the indigo tree.

THE indigo tree is a ſtrait and rather buſhy plant. From it's root ariſes a ligneous brittle ſtem, of the height of two feet, branching from the beginning, white on the inſide, and covered with a greyiſh bark. The leaves are alternate, compoſed of ſeveral ſmall leaves diſpoſed in two rows along a common coſta, which is terminated by a ſingle foliolum, and furniſhed at it's baſis with two ſmall membranes which are called ſtipulæ. At the extremity of each branch ariſe cluſters of reddiſh, papilionaceous flowers, rather ſmall, and compoſed of a number of petals. The ſtamina, to the number of ſix, and the piſtil, ſurmounted with a ſingle ſtyle, are arranged as they are in moſt of the herbaceous flowers. The piſtil is changed into a ſmall rounded pod, ſlightly curved, one inch in length, and a line and a half in breadth, full of cylindrical, ſhining, and browniſh ſeeds.

THIS plant requires a light ſoil, well tilled, and never deluged with water. For this reaſon, ſpots are preferred which are ſloping, becauſe this poſition preſerves the indigo plant from the ſtagnation of the rain, which might deſtroy it, and

* 17,982 l.

BOOK VI.

from inundations, that might cover it with a prejudicial ſlime. Low and flat grounds may alſo be employed for this culture, if channels and ditches are made to draw off the waters, and if care be taken to plant them only after the rainy ſeaſon, which often occaſions overflowings. The ſeed is ſow'n in little furrows made by the hough, two or three inches in depth, at the diſtance of a foot from each other, and in as ſtrait a line as poſſible. Continual attention is required to pluck up the weeds, which would ſoon choak the plant. Though it may be ſow'n in all ſeaſons, the ſpring is commonly preferred. Moiſture cauſes this plant to ſhoot above the ſurface in three or four days. It is ripe at the end of two months. When it begins to flower, it is cut with pruning-knives; and cut again at the end of every ſix weeks, if the weather be a little rainy. It laſts about two years, after which term it degenerates; it is then plucked up, and planted afreſh.

As this plant ſoon exhauſts the ſoil, becauſe it does not abſorb a ſufficient quantity of air and dew to moiſten the earth, it is of advantage to the planter to have a vaſt ſpace which may remain covered with trees, 'till it becomes neceſſary to fell them, in order to make room for the indigo; for trees are to be conſidered as ſyphons, by means of which the earth and air reciprocally communicate to each other their fluid and vegetating ſubſtance; ſyphons, into which the vapours and the juices being alternately draw'n up, are kept in equilibrium. Thus while the ſap aſcends

aſcends by the roots to the branches, the leaves draw in the air and vapours, which circulating through the fibres of the tree deſcend again into the earth, and reſtore to it in dew what it loſes in ſap. It is in order to maintain this reciprocal influence, that, when there are no trees to preſerve the fields in a proper ſtate for the ſowing of indigo, it is cuſtomary to cover thoſe which are exhauſted by this plant with potatoes or lianes, the creeping branches of which preſerve the freſhneſs of the earth, while the leaves, when burnt, renew it's fertility.

INDIGO is diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral ſpecies, of which only two are cultivated. The true indigo, which is the ſort we have been ſpeaking of, and the baſtard indigo, which differs from the former, in having a much higher, more woody, and more durable ſtem; in having it's foliola longer and narrower, it's pods more curved, and it's ſeeds black. Though the firſt be ſold at a higher price, it is uſually advantageous to cultivate the other; becauſe it is not ſo frequently renewed, is heavier, and yields more leaves, the produce of which is, however, leſs, from an equal quantity. The firſt will grow in many different ſoils; the ſecond ſucceeds beſt in thoſe which are moſt expoſed to the rain. Both are liable to great accidents in their early ſtate. They are ſometimes burnt up by the heat of the ſun, or choaked by a web with which they are ſurrounded by an inſect peculiar to theſe regions. Sometimes the plant becomes dry, and is deſtroyed by another very common inſect; at other times, the leaves, which

which are the valuable part of the plant, are devoured in the ſpace of twenty-four hours by caterpillars. This laſt misfortune, which is but too common, hath given occaſion to the ſaying, that the planters of indigo went to bed rich, and roſe in the morning totally ruined.

This production ought to be gathered-in with great precaution, for fear of making the farina that lies on the leaves, and which is very valuable, fall off by ſhaking it. When gathered, it is throw'n into the ſteeping-vat, which is a large tub filled with water. Here it undergoes a fermentation, which in twenty-four hours at fartheſt is completed. A cock is then turned, to let the water run into the ſecond tub, called the mortar or pounding-tub. The ſteeping-vat is then cleaned out, that freſh plants may be throw'n in; and thus the work is continued without interruption.

The water which hath run into the pounding-tub, is found impregnated with a very ſubtile earth, which alone conſtitutes the dregs or blue ſubſtance that is the object of this proceſs, and which muſt be ſeparated from the uſeleſs ſalt of the plant, becauſe this makes the dregs ſwim on the ſurface. To effect this, the water is forcibly agitated with wooden buckets that are full of holes, and fixed to a long handle. This part of the proceſs requires the greateſt precautions. If the agitation be diſcontinued too ſoon, the part that is uſed in dying, not being ſufficiently ſeparated from the ſalt, would be loſt. If, on the other hand, the dye were to be agitated too long after

after the complete ſeparation, the parts would be brought together again, and form a new combination; and the ſalt re-acting on the dregs would excite a ſecond fermentation, that would alter the dye, ſpoil it's colour, and make what is called burnt indigo. Theſe accidents are prevented by a cloſe attention to the leaſt alterations that the dye undergoes, and by the precaution which the workmen take to draw out a little of it from time to time in a clean veſſel. When they perceive that the coloured particles collect by ſeparating from the reſt of the liquor, they leave off ſhaking the buckets, in order to allow time to the blue dregs to precipitate to the bottom of the tub, where they are left to ſettle till the water is quite clear. Holes made in the tub at different heights are then opened one after another, and this uſeleſs water is let out.

The blue dregs remaining at the bottom having acquired the conſiſtence of a thick muddy liquid, cocks are then opened, which draw it off into the ſettler. After it is ſtill more cleared of much ſuperfluous water in this third and laſt tub, it is drained into ſacks; from whence, when water no longer filters through the cloth, this matter, now become of a thicker conſiſtence, is put into cheſts, where it entirely loſes it's moiſture. At the end of three months the indigo is fit for ſale.

It is uſed in waſhing to give a blueiſh colour to linen: painters alſo employ it in their water colours; and dyers cannot make fine blue without indigo. The antients procured it from the

Eaſt

Eaſt Indies; in modern times it has been tranſplanted into America. The cultivation of it, ſucceſſively attempted at different places, appears to be fixed at Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Louiſiana, San Domingo, and Mexico. This laſt ſort, which is the moſt eſteemed, is know'n by the name of Guatimala indigo, becauſe it grows upon the diſtrict of that famous city. The manner in which it is procured is worthy of remark.

In theſe beautiful countries, where every eſtate is from fifteen to twenty leagues in extent, a part of this large ſpace is annually devoted to the culture of indigo. For this purpoſe it is ſufficient to burn the ſhrubs which cover the grounds, and careleſsly to paſs the plough once over them. This is done in the month of March a ſeaſon in which it very ſeldom rains in this delightful climate. A man on horſeback then ſcatters the ſeed of the plant, in the ſame manner as we ſow corn in Europe. No one then pays any attention to this valuable production, 'till the time of gathering it.

From hence it happens that the indigo grows in ſome places and not in others; and that the indigo which does not riſe, is frequently choaked by the weeds, from which it might have been preſerved by pulling them up frequently. Accordingly, the Spaniards gather leſs indigo from an extent of three or four leagues, than other nations do from a few acres of land carefully managed; and their indigo, though much ſuperior to any other, is not yet ſo perfect as it might

might be. Europe receives annually ſix thouſand quintals of it, which coſt 7,626,960 livres *.

THIS proſperity would infallibly increaſe, if the court of Madrid were to enable the natives to cultivate indigo on their own account. This perſonal intereſt thus ſubſtituted to a foreign one, would render them more active and more intelligent; and it is probable that the abundance and ſuperiority of the Mexican indigo, would in time exclude that of the other colonies from all the markets.

Of the culture of the cochineal.

THE cochineal, to which we owe our beautiful ſcarlet and purple colours, has not yet been found any where but in Mexico. I had aſſerted, from the teſtimony even of the beſt writers, that the nature of this colour was not know'n before the beginning of this century. Upon ſearching into the originals, I find, that Acoſta, in 1530, and Herrera, in 1601, had deſcribed it, as well as our modern naturaliſts. I therefore retract, and wiſh I could have an opportunity of doing the ſame with regard to many other things I have written of the Spaniards. The ignorance of travellers, and the levity with which they conſider the productions of nature in all it's kingdoms, is the reaſon that natural hiſtory is ſo full of falſities, which paſs from one work to another, and which are tranſmitted, from age to age, by authors, who ſucceſſively copy each other. We ſcarce give ourſelves the trouble to examine, what we think we

* 317,790l.

BOOK VI.

are well acquainted with; and thus it is, that after having propagated error, the teſtimonies which delay inquiries prolong the duration of it ſtill more. Another inconvenience ariſing from this is, that philoſophers loſe time, which is precious, in forming ſyſtems which impoſe upon us, 'till the pretended facts upon which they were founded, have been ſhew'n to be falſe.

The cochineal is an inſect of the ſize and form of a bug. The two ſexes are diſtinct as in moſt other animals. The female, fixed upon a point of the plant, almoſt from the firſt inſtant of it's birth, remains always attached to it by a kind of trunk, and preſents to the eye only an hemiſpherical cruſt, which covers all the other parts. This covering is changed twice in twenty-five days, and is ſprinkled over with a white and thick duſt, which is immiſcible with water. At this period, which is that of puberty, the male, which is much ſmaller, and more ſlightly made, iſſues out of a farinaceous tube, by means of wings with which he is provided. He flutters over the immoveable females, and fixes upon each of them. The ſame female is thus viſited by ſeveral males, who periſh ſoon after fœcundation. The bulk of the female viſibly enlarges, 'till a drop of liquid, which eſcapes from under her, ſhews that the eggs, which are in great number, will ſoon make their appearance. The little inſects burſt their covering at the time of their birth, and ſoon ſpread themſelves over the plant, to chooſe a favourable ſpot to fix upon. They particularly endeavour to ſhelter themſelves

from

from the eaſt wind. Accordingly, the ſhrub upon which they live, when viewed on that ſide, appears quite green, while upon the oppoſite ſide, which the inſects have preferred, it is white.

THIS ſhrub, which is know'n by the name of nopal, or Indian fig, is about five feet high. It's ſtem is fleſhy, large, flattened, downy, a little rough, and covered with cluſters of thorns, regularly diſpoſed upon it's ſurface. It branches out very much, and grows narrow, as well as it's branches, at every point of ramification: this gives to each portion of the plant thus made narrow, the form of an oval, thick, and thorny leaf. It hath no other leaves but theſe. It's flowers, ſcattered over the young ſtems, are compoſed of a ſcaly calix which ſupports ſeveral petals and ſtamina. The piſtil, ſurmounted with a ſingle ſtyle, aud concealed at the bottom of the calix, grows along with it into a fruit that is fit for eating; it reſembles a fig, and is full of ſeeds, fixed in a kind of reddiſh pulp.

THERE are ſeveral ſpecies of nopal. Thoſe which have a ſmooth ſtem, with a number of thorns placed too cloſe to each other, are not fit for the breeding of the cochineal. Theſe inſects thrive well only on that ſort which hath few thorns, and a downy ſurface proper to give them a firmer footing. Wind, and cold rain, as well as too much damp, are injurious to the plant. The mode of lopping the trees is not advantageous. It is better to re-plant it every ſix years, by putting ſeveral pieces of the ſtems into cavities

of ſome depth, diſpoſed in a quincunx, or a ſquare, at the diſtance of ſix or eight feet from each other. A ſpot thus planted, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Nopalry*, is uſually no more than one or two acres in extent, ſeldom three. Each acre produces as much as two quintals of cochineal, and one man is ſufficient to cultivate it; he muſt weed frequently, but with precaution, in order not to diſturb the inſect, which would not ſurvive if it were diſplaced. The cultivator muſt alſo take care to get rid of the animals that would deſtroy the plant; the moſt formidable of which is a caterpillar, which makes it's way even through the inſide of the plant, and attacks the inſect underneath.

Eighteen months after the plantation, the nopal is covered with cochineals; but in order to diſtribute them more regularly over the whole plant, and to prevent them from injuring each other, from their proximity, ſmall neſts, made of the outſide rind of the cocoa, open to the weſt, and filled with twelve or fifteen females ready to lay their eggs, are fixed to ſpines at certain diſtances. The little ones which come out, fix themſelves on the nopal, and attain to their utmoſt growth in two months, which is the limited duration of their life. They are then gathered; and this operation is renewed every two months from October to May. The crop may be leſs valuable if it ſhould be mixed with another kind of cochineal of a lower price, or if there be a great quantity of males, which are in little eſtimation, becauſe they are leſs, and that they fall

off

off before the time. This crop is to be gathered ſome days before the laying of the eggs, either to prevent the loſs of the eggs, which are rich in colour, or to hinder the little ones from fixing upon a plant which is already exhauſted, and muſt be left to itſelf for a few months. Beginning then by the bottom of the plant, the cochineals are ſucceſſively detached with a knife, and are made to fall into a baſon placed underneath, one of the edges of which being flattened, adapts itſelf exactly to the plant, which is afterwards cleaned with the ſame knife, or with a cloth.

Immediately before the rainy ſeaſon comes on, in order to prevent the total deſtruction of the cochineals, which might be occaſioned by the unwholeſomeneſs of the air, the branches of the nopal, loaded with infant inſects, are cut off. Theſe branches are laid up in the houſes, where they maintain their freſhneſs, as all mucilaginous plants do. Here the cochineals thrive during the bad ſeaſon. As ſoon as that is paſſed, they are placed on the trees, where the vivifying freſhneſs of the air ſoon makes them propagate.

The wild cochineal, a different ſpecies from the fine, or meſteque cochineal, we have been ſpeaking of, but cultivated in the ſame places, and on the ſame plant, does not require as much care and precaution; it is a more hardy inſect, and bears the injuries of the air better. The crop of it is conſequently leſs variable in the produce, and may be gathered all the year. This inſect differs from the other, inaſmuch as it is more voracious, leſs abounding in colour, and

enveloped in a kind of cotton, which it extends two lines all round it. This ſpecies multiplies more readily, ſpreads further and faſter without any aſſiſtance; ſo that a nopalry is ſoon covered with them. As it's produce is more certain, as it's price is equivalent to two-thirds of that of the finer ſort, and as it propagates upon all the ſpecies of nopal, it may be cultivated with ſucceſs, but ſeparately; becauſe, if it were placed near the other, it would ſtarve it, and the other might alſo be ſmothered under the down. This ſpecies is alſo found in Peru, upon a very prickly nopal, which is extremely common there.

As ſoon as the cochineals are gathered, they are plunged in hot water to kill them. There are different ways of drying them. The beſt is, to expoſe them to the ſun for ſeveral days, by which means they acquire a red brown colour, which the Spaniards call *renegrida*. The ſecond method is to put them in an oven, where they aſſume a greyiſh colour ſtreaked with veins of purple, which hath given them the name of *jaſpeada*. But the moſt imperfect, which is what the Indians moſt generally practiſe, conſiſts in putting them on plates along with their cakes of maize; in which proceſs they are frequently burnt, and are called *negra*.

Though the cochineal be claſſed in the animal kingdom, the ſpecies of all others the moſt likely to corrupt, yet it never ſpoils. Without any other care than merely that of keeping it in a box, it hath been preſerved in all it's virtue for ages.

This

THIS valuable production would probably ſucceed in different parts of Mexico; but hitherto ſcarce any beſide the province of Oaxaca hath ſeriouſly attended to it. The crops have been more plentiful upon a barren ſoil, which is beneficial to the nopal, than upon a ſoil naturally fertile; they have experienced leſs accidents in an agreeably mild expoſure, than in places where the heat and cold were more ſenſibly felt. The Mexicans were acquainted with the cochineal before the deſtruction of their empire. They made uſe of it to paint their houſes, and to dye their cotton. We read in Herrera, that, as early as the year 1523, the miniſtry ſent orders to Cortez to oncourage the cultivation of it. The conquerors rejected this kind of labour, as they deſpiſed every other, and it was conſigned entirely to the Indians. They are the only perſons who ſtill carry it on; though too frequently with funds advanced by the Spaniards, upon terms more or leſs uſurious. The produce of their induſtry is all conveyed to the capital of the province, which is likewiſe named Oaxaca.

THIS town, to which there are beautiful roads leading up, and where a perpetual ſpring prevails, riſes in the midſt of a ſpacious plain, covered with agreeable hamlets and well cultivated. The ſtreets are wide, run in a ſtraight line, and conſiſt of houſes that are rather low, but conſtructed in a pleaſing manner. The ſquares, the aqueduct, and the public edifices, are executed in a good taſte. There are ſome manufactures of ſilk and cotton; and the merchandize of Aſia and

BOOK VI.

of Europe is in general uſe. We have an opportunity of ſeeing ſeveral travellers, whom particular circumſtances had led to Oaxaca. They have uniformly aſſured us, that of all the ſettlements formed by the Spaniards in the New World, this was the one in which the ſpirit of ſociety had made the greateſt progreſs. Theſe ſeveral advantages appear to be the reſult of the cochineal trade.

Exclusive of what is conſumed by America and the Philippines, Europe receives annually four thouſand quintals of fine cochineal, two hundred quintals of granilla, a hundred quintals of cochineal duſt, and three hundred quintals of the wild cochineal, which, when brought into it's ports, are ſold for, 8,610,140 livres *.

This rich article hath been hitherto cultivated only for the profit of Spain. M. Thierry, a French botaniſt, in defiance of more dangers than can be imagined, hath taken it away from Oaxaca itſelf, and tranſplanted it to San Domingo, where he cultivates it with a degree of perſeverance, worthy of the courage which animated him in obtaining it. His firſt attempts have ſucceeded beyond his expectations, and there is every reaſon to hope that the ſequel will anſwer to this fortunate beginning. May this ſpecies of cultivation, as well as others, extend itſelf ſtill further, and engage the attention of other nations! Are we not all brethren, all children of one common father, and are we not all

* 358,755 l. 16 s. 8 d.

called

called to fulfill the ſame deſtiny? Is it neceſſary that I ſhould thwart the proſperity of my fellow creature, becauſe nature hath placed a river or a mountain between him and me? Doth this barrier authoriſe me to hate and to perſecute him? How many calamities hath this excluſive predilection for particular ſocieties brought upon the globe, and how many more will it ſtill occaſion in future, unleſs ſound philoſophy ſhould at length enlighten the minds of men, too long beguiled by factitious ſentiments? My voice is certainly too feeble to diſſipate the deluſion. But ſome writers will undoubtedly ariſe, whoſe reaſoning and eloquence will, ſooner or later, perſuade future generations, that mankind is of greater concern to us than one's country; or rather, that the felicity of the one is intimately connected with the happineſs of the other.

To the great exportations we have been mentioning, we muſt add the following articles that are ſent from Mexico: ten thouſand three hundred and fifty quintals of logwood, which produce 112,428 livres*; three hundred and ten quintals of a ſpecies of Braſil wood, which produce 4,266 livres †; forty-ſeven quintals of carmine, which produce 81,000 livres ‡; ſix quintals of tortoiſe ſhell, which produce 24,300 livres §; forty-ſeven quintals of arnotto, which produce 21,600 livres ‖; thirty quintals of ſarſaparilla, which produce 4,147 livres ¶; forty-

* 4,684l. 10s.
† 177l. 15s.
‡ 3,375l.
§ 1,012l. 10s.
‖ 900l.
¶ 172l. 15s. 10d.

BOOK VI.

four quintals of balſam, which produce 45,920 livres *; five quintals of dragon's blood, which produce 270 livres †; and one hundred hides with the hair on, which produce 1,620 livres ‡.

But, as if nature had not yet done enough for Spain, in granting to her, almoſt gratuitouſly, all the treaſures of the earth, which other nations cannot obtain without the hardeſt labour, ſhe hath alſo beſtowed upon her, eſpecially at Mexico, gold and ſilver, which are the vehicle or repreſentative of every produce.

Of the working of the mines.

Such is the dominion which theſe ſhining and fatal metals have over us, that they have counterbalanced the infamy and execration which the plunderers of America juſtly deſerved. The names of Mexico, Peru, and Potoſi, no longer make us ſhudder; and yet we are men! Even at this day, when the ſpirit of juſtice and the ſentiments of humanity are inculcated in all our writings, and are become the invariable rule of our judgments; a navigator, who ſhould come into our ports with a veſſel laden with riches avowedly obtained by methods equally barbarous, would land amidſt the general acclamations of the multitude. Where is then that wiſdom, which is ſo much the boaſt of the preſent age? What is then that gold, which removes from us the idea of vice, and prevents us from feeling that ſenſe of horror which the ſhedding of blood naturally impreſſes us with? There are undoubtedly ſome advantages annexed to a medium of ex-

* 1,913 l. 6s. 8d. † 11 l. 5s. ‡ 67 l. 10s.

change

change between nations, to an external repreſentation of all ſorts of value, to a common eſtimate of all labours. But would not greater advantages have been obtained, if nations had continued in a ſtate of tranquillity, detached from each other, ignorant, and hoſpitable, than thus to have become corrupted with the moſt ferocious of all paſſions?

THE origin of metals hath not always been well underſtood. It was long thought that they were as old as the creation. It is now believed, with greater reaſon, that they are formed ſucceſſively. In fact, it is impoſſible to doubt, that nature is continually in action, and that ſhe exerts herſelf with as much power in the bowels of the earth, as in the regions of the ſky.

EVERY metal, according to the chymiſts, hath for it's principle an earth which conſtitutes and is peculiar to it. It preſents itſelf to us, ſometimes in the form that characterizes it, and ſometimes under various appearances, when it requires a degree of habit and ſkill to recognize it. In the firſt caſe it is called native, in the ſecond mineralized ore.

METALS, whether native or mineralized, are ſometimes ſcattered by fragments in beds of earth that are horizontal or inclined. But this is not the place of their origin. They have been conveyed thither by great volcanos, floods, and earthquakes, which are continually ſubverting our miſerable planet. They are commonly found, ſometimes in regular veins, and ſometimes

times in detached maſſes, within the rocks and mountains where they are formed.

According to the conjectures of naturaliſts, from theſe large caverns which are perpetually heated, there ariſe continual exhalations. Theſe ſulphureous and ſaline liquors act on the metallic particles, attenuate, and divide them, and put them in motion within the cavities of the earth. They unite again; and then, becoming too heavy to ſupport themſelves in the air, they fall, and are heaped up one upon another. If, in their ſeveral motions, they have not met with other bodies, they form pure metals; which they do not, if they happen to have been combined with foreign ſubſtances.

Nature, which ſeems to have intended to conceal theſe metals, hath not been able to ſecrete them from the avidity of man. From repeated obſervations, we are led to diſcover the places where there are mines. They are uſually found in mountains, where plants grow with difficulty, and ſoon fade; where trees are ſmall and crooked; where the moiſture of dews, rains, and even ſnows, is ſoon dried up; where ſulphureous and mineral exhalations ariſe; where the waters are impregnated with vitriolic ſalts; and where the ſands contain metallic particles. Though each of theſe marks, ſeparately conſidered, be ambiguous, it ſeldom happens, when all of them are united, but that the earth contains ſome mine.

But what are the terms on which we extract this treaſure or this poiſon from thoſe caverns

where nature had concealed it? We muſt pierce rocks to an immenſe depth; we muſt dig ſubterraneous channels, to carry off the waters which flow in and menace us on every ſide; we muſt convey into immenſe galleries the wood of whole foreſts cut into props; we muſt ſupport the vaults of theſe galleries againſt the enormous weight of the earth which perpetually tends to fill them up, and to bury in their ruins thoſe avaricious and preſumptuous men who conſtructed them; we muſt dig canals and aqueducts; we muſt invent hydraulic machines of aſtoniſhing and various powers, and all the ſeveral kinds of furnaces; we muſt hazard being ſuffocated or conſumed by a vapour which takes fire from the glimmering flame of the lamps, without which the work could not be carried on; and we muſt at laſt periſh by a conſumption, which reduces human life to one half of it's duration. If we conſider how many obſervations, experiments, and trials, all theſe works imply, we ſhall carry the origin of the world far beyond it's know'n antiquity. To ſhew us the gold, iron, copper, tin, and ſilver, uſed in the earlieſt ages, is to amuſe us with an idle ſtory which can only impoſe upon children.

When the labour of mineralogy is finiſhed, that of metallurgy begins. It's object is to ſeparate metals from each other, and to detach them from the extraneous bodies which envelope them.

In order to ſeparate the gold from the ſtones which contain it, it is ſufficient to break them in pieces and reduce them to powder. The matter thus

BOOK VI.

thus pulverized is afterwards triturated with quickſilver, which combines itſelf to this precious metal, but without forming any union, either with the rock, or ſand, or even the earth, which were mixed with it. By means of fire, the mercury is afterwards diſtilled, which, on ſeparating, leaves the gold at the bottom of the veſſel in the ſtate of a powder which is purified in the coppel. Native ſilver requires no other preparations.

But when ſilver is combined with other ſubſtances, or with metals of a different nature, great knowlege and conſummate experience are requiſite to purify it. Every circumſtance authoriſes us to think that this art is unknow'n in the New World. It is alſo generally acknowleged, that the miners of Germany and Sweden would find, in a mine that hath already been worked, more wealth than the Spaniard had been able to extract from it. They would enrich themſelves by mines, which, through want of ſkill, have been rejected as inſufficient to defray the expences of working them.

Before the arrival of the Caſtilians, the Mexicans had no gold except what the torrents detached from the mountains; they had ſtill leſs ſilver, becauſe the chances that might bring it into their hands, were infinitely leſs frequent. Theſe metals were not employed by them as a medium of exchange, but only as objects of ornament, or of mere curioſity. They were little attached to them. Accordingly, they laviſhed the ſmall quantity they had of them upon a foreign people, who

who made them their idol; and they caſt it at the feet of their horſes, who, while they were chewing the bit, ſeemed as if they were feeding upon them. But when hoſtilities had commenced between the two nations, and in proportion as the animoſities increaſed, theſe perfidious treaſures were partly throw'n into the lakes and rivers, in order to deprive an implacable enemy of them, who ſeemed to have croſſed ſo many ſeas for no other purpoſe than to obtain the poſſeſſion of them. It was particularly in the capital and it's neighbourhood that this practice was adopted. After the empire was ſubdued, the conquerors went all over it, in order to ſatisfy their ruling paſſion. The temples, the palaces, the private houſes, and even the meaneſt hovels, were ranſacked and pillaged. This ſource being exhauſted, it became neceſſary to have recourſe to the mines.

Those from which the greateſt expectations could be formed, were ſituated in countries which had not yet ſubmitted to the Mexican yoke. Nuno de Guſman was commiſſioned, in 1530, to reduce them to ſubjection. The advantages which this commander derived from an illuſtrious name, did not prevent him from ſurpaſſing in barbarity, all the adventurers who had previouſly deluged the unfortunate plains of the New World with blood. Trampling upon millions of carcaſes, he ſucceeded, in leſs than two years, in eſtabliſhing a very extenſive dominion, from which the audience of Guadalaxara was inſtituted. This was always the part of New Spain the moſt abounding

BOOK VI.

abounding in metals. Theſe riches are more eſpecially common in New Galicia, in New Biſcay, and chiefly in the country of Zacatecas. From the midſt of theſe arid mountains is draw'n the greateſt part of thoſe eighty millions of livres * which are annually coined in the mints of Mexico. The internal circulation, the Eaſt Indies, the national iſlands, and the contraband trade, abſorb near one half of this ſpecie. The mother-country receives 44,196,047 of theſe livres †, to which we muſt add, five thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-four quintals of copper, which are ſold in Europe for 453,600 livres ‡.

In the earlieſt periods after the conqueſt, all the payments were made with ingots of ſilver, and with pieces of gold, the weight and value of which had received the ſanction of government. The neceſſity of having a regular kind of coin was ſoon felt; and towards the year 1542, theſe original metals were converted into coins of different ſizes. Some copper coins were even ſtricken, but the Indians rejected them. When they were compelled to receive them, they uſed to throw them, with contempt, into the lakes and rivers. In leſs than a year's time, the amount of more than a million of this coin diſappeared; and it became neceſſary to give up a medium of exchange, which diſguſted the lower claſs of people.

Although the breeding of cattle, cultivation, and the working of the mines, have not been

* 3,333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. † 1,841,501 l. 19 s. 2 d.
‡ 18,900 l.

carried

carried nearly to ſuch a degree of perfection as they would infallibly have been by an active people, yet the manufactures are ſtill in a worſe ſtate. Thoſe of woollen and cotton are very general; but as they are in the hands of the Indians, Meſtees, and Mulattos, and that they ſerve only for the clothing of the middling claſs of people, they are inconceivably imperfect. Some better kinds have been made only at Quexetaco, where tollerably fine woollen cloths are manufactured. But it is particularly in the province of Tlaſcala that the works are carried on with ſpirit. The poſition of this province between Vera Cruz and Mexico, the mildneſs of the climate, the beauty of the country, and the fertility of the ſoil, have attracted there moſt of the workmen, who have paſſed from the Old to the New World. Theſe manufactures have produced ſucceſſively ſilk-ſtuffs, ribands, gold and ſilver, and other laces, and hats, which have been conſumed by ſuch of the Meſtees and Spaniards as were not able to pay for the merchandize brought from Europe. Los Angèles, an extenſive, rich, and populous town, is the center of this buſineſs. All the earthen ware, and moſt of the glaſſes and cryſtals that are ſold in the empire, come from it's manufactures. The government hath even fire-arms made there.

What is the reaſon that Mexico hath not riſen to greater proſperity?

THE indolence of the people inhabiting New Spain, muſt be one of the principal cauſes that have retarded the proſperity of this celebrated region, but it is not the only one; and the difficulty of communication muſt have added greatly to

to this want of activity. The circulation of trade is continually ſtopped, by all the obſtacles that can have been ſuggeſted by an unjuſt and rapacious adminiſtration. There are at moſt but two rivers able to bear even ſmall canoes, and neither of them poſſeſſes this advantage in all ſeaſons. There are but few traces of roads even near the great towns: in every other part the proviſions or merchandize can only be conveyed upon the back of mules, and every thing that is brittle upon the heads of the Indians. In moſt of the provinces, the price which the traveller is to pay for lodging, for horſes, for guides, and for proviſions, is regulated by the police; and this cuſtom, however barbarous it may be thought, is ſtill preferable to what is practiſed in places where liberty ſeems to be more reſpected.

These obſtacles to public proſperity have been increaſed by the ſevere yoke under which oppreſſive maſters held the Indians, upon whom all the hard labour was impoſed. This evil is become more conſiderable from the diminution of the hands employed to ſerve the cupidity of the Europeans.

The firſt ſteps of the Caſtilians at Mexico were marked with blood. The carnage extended itſelf during the memorable ſiege of the city; and it was carried to the higheſt pitch of exceſs, in the expeditions that were undertaken to ſubdue deſperate people who had endeavoured to break their chains. The introduction of the ſmall-pox, increaſed the depopulation, which was ſtill augmented ſoon after, by the epidemic diſeaſes of

1545 and 1576, the firſt of which deprived the empire of eight hundred thouſand inhabitants, and the ſecond, of two millions, if we chuſe to adopt the calculations of the credulous and exaggerating Torquemada. It is even demonſtrated, that without any accidental cauſe, the number of the inhabitants hath been inſenſibly reduced to a very few. According to the regiſters of 1600, there were five hundred thouſand tributary Indians in the dioceſe of Mexico; and in 1741, there remained no more than one hundred and nineteen thouſand ſix hundred and eleven. In the dioceſe of Los Angèles there were two hundred and fifty-five thouſand; and there remained no more than eighty-eight thouſand two hundred and forty. In the dioceſe of Oaxaca there were a hundred and fifty thouſand; and there remained no more than forty-four thouſand two hundred and twenty-two. We do not know the changes that have happened in the dioceſes of the ſix other churches: but it is probable that they have been the ſame every where.

The cuſtom which prevailed, and ſtill prevails among the Spaniards, Meſtees, Mulattos, and Negroes, frequently to take wives from among the Indians, while no one female of theſe branches hath ever, or ſcarce ever choſe huſbands from among them, hath undoubtedly contributed to the diminution of this race: but the effect of this circumſtance muſt have been rather confined; and if we be not deceived, conſequences much

BOOK VI.

more extenſive have been produced by a ſyſtem of permanent tyranny.

It muſt be acknowleged, however, that in proportion as the population of the natives diminiſhed, that of the foreigners increaſed in a very remarkable degree of progreſſion. In 1600, the dioceſe of Mexico reckoned no more than ſeven thouſand of theſe families; and in 1741, their number was raiſed to one hundred and nineteen thouſand five hundred and eleven. The dioceſe of Los Angèles reckoned only four thouſand, and theſe were raiſed to thirty thouſand ſix hundred. The dioceſe of Oaxaca computed only a thouſand; and theſe were raiſed to ſeven thouſand two hundred and ninety-ſix. The antient inhabitants, however, have been but imperfectly replaced by the new ones. The cultivation of the lands, and the working of the mines were the ordinary occupation of the Indians. The Spaniards, the Meſtees, the Mulattos, and even the blacks, have moſt of them diſdained to attend to theſe great objects: ſeveral of them live in a ſtate of idleneſs. A ſtill greater number of them devote a few moments to the arts and to commerce. The reſt are employed in the ſervice of the rich.

It is particularly in the capital of the empire, that we are diſguſted with this laſt circumſtance. The inhabitants of Mexico, who for ſome time had reaſon to doubt, whether the Caſtilians were a ſet of robbers, or a conquering people, ſaw their capital almoſt totally deſtroyed by the cruel wars

wars that were carried on in it. Cortez ſoon rebuilt it in a ſtile very ſuperior to that in which it appeared before this cataſtrophe.

THE city riſes in the midſt of a great lake, the banks of which exhibit fortunate ſituations, which would be delightful if nature were a little aſſiſted by the efforts of art. Upon the lake itſelf, the eye beholds with ſatisfaction a number of floating iſlands. Theſe are rafts formed by weeds interwoven with each other, and ſufficiently ſolid to bear thick layers of earth, and even dwellings lightly conſtructed. Some Indians lives there, and cultivate a plenty of vegetables. Theſe ſingular gardens do not always occupy the ſame ſpace. Their ſituation is changed, when this alteration ſuits the poſſeſſors.

VERY wide banks raiſed upon piles lead up to the city. Five or ſix canals convey all the productions of the country to it's center, and in it's moſt beautiful parts. A wholeſome water, which is derived from a mountain at the diſtance only of five or ſix hundred toiſes, is diſtributed in all the houſes, and even to all the different ſtories, by means of aqueducts very well contrived.

THE air of this city is very temperate; woollen clothing may be wor'n there all the year. The leaſt precautions are ſufficient to prevent any inconveniences from the heat. Charles V. aſked a Spaniard, on his arrival from Mexico, how long the interval was there between ſummer and winter? *Juſt as long*, replied he, with great truth and wit, *as it takes to paſs out of ſunſhine into the ſhade.*

BOOK VI.

THE advantage which this city hath of being the capital of New Spain, hath ſucceſſively multiplied it's inhabitants. In 1777, the number of births amounted to five thouſand nine hundred and fifteen, and that of burials to five thouſand and eleven; from whence we may conclude, that it's population is not much inferior to two hundred thouſand ſouls. All the citizens are not opulent, but ſeveral of them are, perhaps, more ſo than in any other part of the globe. Theſe riches, very rapidly accumulated, ſoon had a remarkable influence. Moſt of the materials, which in other parts were of iron or copper, were here made of ſilver or gold. Theſe brilliant metals were uſed as ornaments for the ſervants, for the horſes, for the moſt common furniture, and employed for the meaneſt purpoſes. The manners, which always follow the courſe of luxury, were raiſed to the ſame romantic train of magnificence. The women, within their houſes, were attended by thouſands of ſlaves, and did not appear in public without a retinue, which amongſt us is reſerved for the majeſty of the throne. To theſe extravagancies the men added ſtill greater profuſions, which they laviſhed upon the Negro women, whom they raiſed publicly to the rank of their miſtreſſes. The luxury ſo inordinate in the common actions of life, ſurpaſſed all bounds upon occaſion of the leaſt feſtival. The general and prevailing pride was then in commotion, and every individual laviſhed millions to juſtify his own. The crimes neceſſary to ſupport theſe extravagances were previouſly expiated; for ſuperſtition declared

declared every man holy and juſt, who beſtowed large ſums upon the churches.

Every circumſtance bore the mark of an oſtentation hitherto unknow'n in the two hemiſpheres; the inhabitants were no longer ſatisfied with a decent dwelling, ſituated in wide and even ſtreets. Moſt of them required hotels, the extent of which was ſuperior to either their convenience, or their elegance. Public edifices were multiplied, without recalling to the mind of any man the proſperous days of architecture, or even of the beſt Gothic times. The principal ſquares had all the ſame form, the ſame regularity, and the ſame kind of fountain, with ornaments executed without taſte. Trees that were ill choſen, and of a dirty appearance, deprived the walks of the ornaments which they might have received from avenues well diſtributed, and from water-works. Among the fifty-five convents, which had been founded by a ſpirit of credulity worthy of pity, there were very few of them which did not create diſguſt from the faults of their conſtruction. The numberleſs temples, in which the treaſures of the whole globe were heaped up, were generally devoid of majeſty, and were not calculated to inſpire thoſe who frequented them, with ideas and ſentiments worthy of the Supreme Being, whom they came to adore. Among this multiplicity of immenſe buildings, there are but two that are worthy of fixing the attention of the traveller. One is the palace of the Viceroy, where the tribunals of juſtice are alſo holden, where the coin is ſtricken, and where

BOOK VI.

the quickſilver is depoſited. The people, who were driven to deſpair by famine, burnt it in 1692. It hath been ſince rebuilt upon a better plan. It is a ſquare with four towers, and is ſeven hundred and fifty feet in length, and ſix hundred and ninety in breadth. The cathedral, begun in 1573, and finiſhed in 1667, would equally do honour to the beſt artiſts. It is four hundred feet in length, by one hundred and ninety-five in breadth, and hath coſt 9,460,800 livres *. Unfortunately, theſe edifices are not ſo ſolid as it might be wiſhed they were.

We have ſeen, that Mexico was ſituated upon a conſiderable lake, divided by a narrow ſlip of land into two parts, the one filled with ſweet water, the other with ſalt. Theſe waters appear equally to flow from a high mountain at a ſmall diſtance from the city, but with this difference, that the ſalt waters muſt neceſſarily traverſe ſome mines which communicate this quality to them. But beſide theſe regular ſprings, there exiſt, a little further off, four ſmall lakes, which in tempeſtuous ſeaſons, ſometimes diſcharge themſelves into the great one with deſtructive violence.

The antient inhabitants of this city had always been expoſed to inundations, which made them purchaſe, at a very dear rate, the advantages they acquired from the ſituation they had choſen to fix the center of their power upon. To the calamities inſeparable from theſe too frequent overflowings, the conquerors experienced the ad-

* 394,200 l.

ditional

ditional diſappointment of ſeeing their heavier buildings, though raiſed upon piles, ſink, in a very ſhort time, from four to ſix inches, in a ſoil that had not firmneſs enough to ſupport them.

ATTEMPTS were made, at different times, to turn aſide theſe dreadful torrents: but the directors of theſe great works had not ſufficient ſkill to employ the moſt effectual means; nor were the ſubaltern agents ſufficiently zealous to ſupply, by their efforts, the want of capacity in their chiefs.

THE engineer Martinès conceived, in 1607, the idea of a great canal, which appeared in general preferable to all the methods purſued before that period. In order to defray the expences of this project, the government required the hundredth part of the value of the houſes, lands, and merchandize: a ſpecies of impoſt unknow'n in the New World. Four hundred and ſeventy-one thouſand one hundred and fifty-four Indians were employed, during ſix years, at this work; and the undertaking was afterwards judged to be impracticable.

THE court, wearied with the diverſity of opinions, and the troubles they occaſioned, decreed, in 1631, that Mexico ſhould be abandoned, and that a new capital ſhould be erected on ſome other ſpot. The ſpirit of avarice, which objected to the leaſt ſacrifice, that of libidinouſneſs, which was afraid of having it's pleaſures interrupted; and that of indolence, which ſhuddered at the idea of trouble; all the paſſions, in a word,

BOOK VI.

united themſelves to oblige the miniſtry to change their reſolutions; and they prevailed.

UPWARDS of a century paſſed away, before the government attended to the duty of preventing the misfortunes of which the people were inceſſantly complaining. At length their attention was rouzed. In 1763, it was reſolved to cut a mountain, in which ſome excavations only, had 'till that time, been made; and the waters have ſince had as free a paſſage as the public ſecurity required. The commercial body have undertaken this great work for the ſum of 4,320,000 livres *. They even agreed to pay whatever additional expences this labour might be attended with, and that if there were any ſavings, they ſhould be applied to the profit of the treaſury. This generoſity hath not been a virtue of mere oſtentation. The merchants have expended 1,890,000 livres † in rendering this ſervice to their country.

OTHER works are meditated. The project of drying up the great lake that ſurrounds Mexico ſeems to be at a ſtand; and perſons of the art require 8,100,000 livres ‡ to complete the new plan in a proper manner. This is a large ſum. But what is money, when the buſineſs is to make the air wholeſome, to preſerve the lives of men, or to increaſe proviſions? What infinite good would the rulers of the world do, and how much will they be honoured, when the gold which they

* 180,000 l. † 78,750 l. ‡ 337,500 l.

laviſh

laviſh in inordinate luxury, upon greedy favourites, or in idle caprices, ſhall be conſecrated to the improvement of their empire! An airy hoſpital, conſtructed with ſkill and carefully managed; the abolition of beggary, or the employing of indigent perſons; the paying off of the national debt; a moderate tax, diſtributed with equity; the reformation of the laws, by the compoſition of a clear and ſimple code; ſuch inſtitutions would raiſe their glory to a higher pitch than magnificent palaces; than the conqueſt of a province, after a number of victories; than all the bronzes, all the marbles, and all the inſcriptions of flattery.

If the court of Madrid, who have the greateſt reaſon to entertain ſuch hopes, ſhould do for Mexico what they have propoſed, they will ſoon ſee this famous city become the ſeat of government, the place of the mint, the reſidence of the moſt extenſive proprietors, the center of all important affairs; they will behold it ſoaring to a ſtill greater height, communicating to the provinces under it's dependence the impulſe it ſhall have received, giving energy to induſtry, increaſing internal circulation, and, by a neceſſary conſequence, extending and multiplying it's foreign connections.

Connections of Mexico with the Philippines.

That which Mexico hath formed with the Philippines, is the moſt notorious of all thoſe it maintains through the channel of the South-Sea.

When the court of Madrid, whoſe ambition increaſed with their proſperity, had conceived the

BOOK VI.

plan of forming a great eſtabliſhment in Aſia, their attention was ſeriouſly engaged in conſidering of expedients to inſure it's ſucceſs. This project was neceſſarily attended with great difficulties. The riches of America ſo powerfully attracted the Spaniards, who conſented to a voluntary exile, that it did not appear poſſible to engage even the moſt wretched of them to ſettle at the Philippines, unleſs it were agreed to give them a ſhare in the treaſures of thoſe iſlands. This ſacrifice was reſolved upon. The riſing colony was authoriſed to ſend every year into America India goods, in exchange for metals.

This unreſtrained freedom was attended with ſuch important conſequences, that the jealouſy of the mother-country was excited. Tranquillity was in ſome meaſure reſtored, by reſtraining a commerce, which was thought to be, and which really was, immenſe. The trade that was to be allowed in future, was divided into twelve thouſand equal ſhares. Every head of a family was to have one, and perſons in office a number proportioned to their rank. Religious communities were included in this arrangement, according to the extent of their credit, and the opinion that was entertained of their utility.

The veſſels which ſet out at firſt from the iſland of Cebu, and afterwards from the iſland of Luconia, originally took the route of Peru. The length of this voyage was prodigious. Trade-winds were diſcovered, which opened a much ſhorter paſſage to Mexico; and this branch

of

of commerce was tranſacted on it's coaſt, where it was ſettled.

A VESSEL of about two thouſand ton burthen is diſpatched every year from the port of Manilla. According to the laws at preſent in force, and which have frequently been varied, this ſhip ought not to carry more than four thouſand bales of merchandize, and yet it is laden with at leaſt double that quantity. The expences of building, of fitting out, and of the voyage, which are always infinitely more conſiderable than they ought to be, are ſupported by the government, which receives no other indemnification than 75,000 piaſters or 405,000 livres * per veſſel.

THE departure of it is fixed for the month of July. After having cleared a multitude of iſlands and rocks, which are always troubleſome, and ſometimes dangerous, the galleon ſteers northward as far as the thirtieth degree of latitude. There the trade-winds begin to blow, which convey it to the place of it's deſtination. It is generally thought, that if it proceeded further, it would meet with ſtronger, and more regular winds, which would haſten it's courſe: but the commanders are forbidden, under the heavieſt penalties, to go out of the track that hath been marked out to them.

THIS is undoubtedly the reaſon that hath prevented the Spaniards, during the courſe of two centuries, from making the leaſt diſcovery upon an ocean, which would have offered ſo

* 16,875 l.

many

BOOK VI.

many objects of inſtruction and advantage to more enlightened, and leſs circumſpect nations. The voyage laſts ſix months, becauſe the veſſel is over-ſtocked with men and merchandize, and that all thoſe who are on board are a ſet of timid navigators, who never make but little way during the night-time, and often, though without neceſſity, make none at all.

The port of Acapulco where the veſſel arrives, hath two inlets, ſeparated from each other by a ſmall iſland: the entrance into them in the day is by means of a ſea-breeze, and the ſailing out in the night-time is effected by a land-breeze. It is defended only by a bad fort, fifty ſoldiers, forty-two pieces of cannon, and thirty-two of the corps of artillery. It is equally extenſive, ſafe, and commodious. The baſon which forms this beautiful harbour is ſurrounded by lofty mountains, which are ſo dry, that they are even deſtitute of water. Four hundred families of Chineſe, Mulattoes, and Negroes, which compoſe three companies of militia, are the only perſons accuſtomed to breathe the air of this place, which is burning, heavy, and unwholeſome. The number of inhabitants in this feeble and miſerable colony is conſiderably increaſed upon the arrival of the galleons, by the merchants from all the provinces of Mexico, who come to exchange their ſilver and their cochineal, for the ſpices, muſlins, china, printed linens, ſilks, perfumes, and gold works of Aſia.

At this market, the fraud impudently begun in the Old World, is as impudently completed

in

in the New. The ſtatutes have limited the ſale to 2,700,000 livres *, and it exceeds 10,800,000 livres †. All the money produced by theſe exchanges ſhould give ten *per cent.* to the government: but they are deprived of three-fourths of the revenue which they ought to collect from their cuſtoms, by falſe entries.

After ſtaying here about three months, the galleon reſumes it's courſe to the Philippine iſlands, with a few companies of infantry, deſtined to recruit the garriſon of Manilla. This veſſel hath been intercepted in it's paſſage three times by the Engliſh. It was taken in 1587 by Cavendiſh, in 1709 by Rogers, and in 1742 by Anſon. The leaſt part of the riches with which it is laden remains in the colony; the reſt is diſtributed among the nations which had contributed to form it's cargo.

The long paſſage which the galleons had to make, hath made it a deſirable thing to have a port where they might refit and take in refreſhments. Such a port was found on the road from Acapulco to the Philippines, in an Archipelago know'n by the name of the Marianne Iſlands.

Deſcription of the Marianne iſlands. Singularities that have been obſerved in them.

These iſlands form a chain which extends from the 13th to the 22d degree. Several of them are nothing more than rocks: but there are nine of them which are of ſome extent. There it is that nature, in all her richneſs and beauty, diſplays a perpetual verdure; abounds in flowers of exquiſite odour, in waters as clear as cryſtal,

* 112,500 l. † 450,000 l.

falling

BOOK VI.

falling into caſcades; in trees loaded with flowers and fruits at the ſame time, and in pictureſque ſituations which art will never imitate.

In this Archipelago, which is ſituated under the torrid zone, the air is pure, the ſky ſerene, and the climate temperate.

It was formerly inhabited by numbers of people, the origin of whom nothing remains to indicate. They were undoubtedly throw'n on theſe coaſts by ſome ſtorm; but this event muſt have happened ſo long ago, that they had forgotten their origin, and thought themſelves the only inhabitants of the globe.

Some cuſtoms, moſt of them ſimilar to thoſe of the other ſavages of the South Sea, ſerve them inſtead of a form of worſhip, of a code of laws, and of a ſyſtem of government. They paſſed their days in perpetual indolence; and it was to the bananas, to the cocoa nuts, and eſpecially to the rima, that they owed this misfortune or advantage.

The Rima, mentioned by ſome travellers under the name of the bread-tree, is not yet well know'n to the botaniſts. It is a tree, the ſtem of which, that is high and ſtreight, is divided towards it's top into ſeveral branches. It's leaves are alternate, large, firm, thick, and deeply ſinuated towards their lateral edges. The youngeſt of them, before they unfold themſelves, are incloſed in a membrane which dries up, and when it falls, leaves a circular impreſſion round the ſtem. They yield, as well as the other parts of the tree, a very viſcous, milky fluid.

fluid. From the axilla of the ſuperior leaves, a ſpongy ſubſtance is produced, ſix inches in length, and covered all over with male flowers, very cloſe to each other. Lower down, other ſubſtances are found, loaded with female flowers, the piſtil of which becomes an elongated berry filled with a kernel. Theſe berries, which are ſupported upon one common axis, are ſo cloſe to each other, that they are confounded, and form, by their aſſemblage, a very large fruit, ten inches in length, and beſet with thick, ſhort, and blunted points. It appears that there are two ſpecies, or varieties of the Rima. The fruit of one of them is pulpy on the inſide, and full of kernels, which are good for eating, and which have the figure and taſte of the cheſnut. The fruit of the other ſpecies is ſmaller: it hath no kernels, becauſe theſe come to nothing when it is perfectly ripe. The pulp of it is ſoft, ſweetiſh, and unwholeſome. But when it is gathered a little before it is ripe, it hath the taſte of the artichoke, and is eaten as bread, from whence it hath been called the Bread fruit. Thoſe who wiſh to keep it one or more years, cut it into ſlices, and dry it in the oven, or in the ſun.

THERE are three things which appear worthy of remark in the hiſtory of the Marianne iſlands.

THE uſe of fire was totally unknow'n there. None of thoſe terrible volcanoes, the deſtructive traces of which are indelibly marked on the face of the globe; none of thoſe celeſtial phænomena which frequently light up devouring and unexpected

pected flames in all climates; none of thoſe fortunate occurrences, which by friction or colliſion, extract brilliant ſparks from ſuch a number of bodies: nothing, in a word, had given the peaceable inhabitants of the Marianne iſlands the leaſt idea of an element ſo familiar to other nations. It was neceſſary that the reſentment of the firſt Spaniards that arrived upon theſe ſavage coaſts, ſhould burn ſome hundreds of their huts, in order to make them acquainted with it.

This uſe of fire was little calculated to give them a favourable idea of it, or to make them wiſh to ſee it appear again. Accordingly, they took it for an animal which fixed itſelf to the wood, and fed upon it. Thoſe whom their ignorance of ſo new an object had induced to come near it, having burnt themſelves, their cries inſpired the reſt with terror, ſo that they did not dare to look at it but at a great diſtance. They dreaded the bite of this wild beaſt, whom they thought capable of wounding them by the mere violence of it's reſpiration. They recovered, however, by degrees, from the conſternation with which they had been ſeized: their miſtake was gradually removed, and they at length accuſtomed themſelves to the uſe of this valuable advantage, of which all other know'n people had been in poſſeſſion, from time immemorial.

Another circumſtance worthy of attention is, the ſuperiority which the weaker ſex had aſſumed over the ſtronger in the Marianne iſlands. Such was their aſcendant, that the women there enjoyed unlimited power in their families; that

nothing could be parted with without their consent, and that they had the free diſpoſal of every thing; that in no inſtance, even that of infidelity publicly acknowleged, it was permitted to be wanting in the attentions that were due to them; that how little ſoever they themſelves might judge ther huſbands to be deficient in mildneſs, complaiſance, and ſubmiſſion, they were at liberty to make a new choice; and that if they thought themſelves betrayed, they might pillage the hut, and cut down the trees of the traitor, or make their relations, or companions, commit the ſame havock.

But how could ſuch ſtrange cuſtoms have been eſtabliſhed, and have taken root? If we credit antient or modern accounts, the men of this Archipelago, were black, ugly, and deformed; they had moſt of them a diſguſting cutaneous diſeaſe, notwithſtanding the daily uſe of the bath. The women, on the contrary, had a tolerably clear complexion, regular features, an eaſy air, ſome graces, and a taſte for ſinging and dancing. It is not therefore ſurpriſing that with all theſe means of pleaſing, they ſhould have acquired an abſolute empire, which cannot be ſhaken. It is truly extraordinary, that there ſhould have been any countries, and eſpecially ſavage regions, where a difference ſo marked hath been found between the two ſexes. The unanimity of hiſtorians upon this point, will probably never ſilence the doubts that naturally ariſe in the mind from ſo improbable an account.

The

The united teſtimonies of any number of writers, cannot prevail againſt a well-know'n, general, and conſtant law of nature. We know, that in every part, except at the Marianne iſlands, the woman has been found, as ſhe ought to be, ſubject to the man. In order to induce me to believe this exception, it muſt be ſupported by another: which is, that in this region, the women were ſuperior to the men, not only in underſtanding, but even in bodily ſtrength. If I be not aſſured of one of theſe facts, I ſhall deny the other; unleſs, however, ſome ſuperſtitious tenet, have rendered their perſons ſacred. For there is nothing which ſuperſtition doth not alter, no cuſtom, however monſtrous, which it doth not eſtabliſh, no crimes to which it doth not lead, no ſacrifices which it doth not obtain. If ſuperſtition, at the Marianne iſlands, declares to man, It is the will of God that thou ſhouldſt cringe before woman; he will not fail to cringe to her. Beauty, talents, and wit, in all countries of the world, whether ſavage or civilized, will induce a man to throw himſelf at the feet of a woman: but theſe advantages peculiar to ſome women, cannot eſtabliſh in any part a general ſyſtem, of the tyranny of the weaker ſex over the ſtronger. The man commands the woman, even in thoſe countries where the woman commands the nation. The phænomenon, at the Marianne iſlands, would be in the ſyſtem of morality, the ſame as the equilibrium of two unequal weights, ſuſpended to levers of equal length, would be in the ſyſtem of philoſophy. No kind of authority

ought

ought to induce us to believe an abſurdity. But it may be urged, that the women may have deſerved this authority, on account of ſome important ſervices, the memory of which may have been loſt. Suppoſing this to be the caſe, the men would ſoon have forgotten the gratitude they might have ſhew'n in the firſt inſtance.

THE third remarkable thing in the Marianne iſlands, was a *proſs*, or canoe, the ſingular form of which, hath always attracted the attention of the moſt enlightened navigators.

THESE people reſided in iſlands ſeparated from each other by conſiderable diſtances. Although they had neither the means nor the deſire of making exchanges, yet they wiſhed to communicate with each other. They ſucceeded in this deſign with the aſſiſtance of a veſſel, entirely ſafe, though very ſmall: a veſſel fit for every naval evolution, notwithſtanding the ſimplicity of it's conſtruction; and ſo eaſily managed, that three men were ſufficient for all the manœuvres; a veſſel, which received the winds ſideways, a circumſtance abſolutely neceſſary in theſe latitudes; which had the unparalleled advantage of going and returning, without ever tacking about, and merely by ſhifting the ſail; a veſſel, in a word, ſo expeditious, that it ran twelve or fifteen knots in leſs than an hour, and that it ſometimes went faſter than the wind. All connoiſſeurs acknowlege, that this *proſs*, which is called *flying*, on account of it's lightneſs, is the moſt perfect kind of boat that hath ever been contrived; and the invention of it cannot be diſputed with the in-

habitants of the Marianne iſlands, ſince the model of it hath never been found on any ſea in the world. If it were reaſonable to decide upon the genius of a nation, from one ſingle diſtinct art, we could not avoid having the greateſt opinion of theſe ſavages, who, with coarſe utenſils, and without the aſſiſtance of iron, have obtained effects at ſea, which the moſt enlightened people have not been able to procure to themſelves from a multiplicity of contrivances. But in order to determine with judgment on this matter, it would require other proofs than a ſingle talent, which chance may have ſupplied; and theſe proofs are not to be found in any hiſtory.

The Marianne iſlands were diſcovered in 1521 by Magellan. This celebrated navigator called them the Ladrone Iſlands, becauſe their ſavage inhabitants, who had not the leaſt idea of the right of property, which is unknow'n in a ſtate of nature, ſtole from on board their ſhips ſome trifles which tempted their curioſity. The Spaniards neglected, for a long time, to fix themſelves in this Archipelago, where there were none of thoſe rich mines that excited their cupidity. It was only in 1668, that the ſhips which ſtopped there, from time to time, in their paſſage from Mexico to the Eaſt Indies, landed a few miſſionaries on theſe iſlands. Ten years after this, the court of Madrid thought that they did not gain a ſufficient number of ſubjects by the means of perſuaſion; and they ſupported the ſermons of their miſſionaries with a military force.

SAVAGES, living by themſelves, and guided by a wild inſtinct; to whom the bow and the arrow were even unknow'n, and whoſe only weapon of defence was a large ſtick: ſuch ſavages could not reſiſt the European arms and troops. Nevertheleſs, moſt of them ſuffered themſelves to be put to death rather than they would ſubmit. A great number of them were the victims of the digraceful maladies which their inhuman conquerors had introduced among them. Thoſe who had eſcaped all theſe diſaſters, took the deſperate reſolution of making their wives miſcarry, in order that they might not leave behind them a progeny of ſlaves. The population decreaſed, throughout the whole Archipelago, to ſuch a degree, that it became neceſſary, five and twenty or thirty years ago, to unite the feeble remains of them in the ſingle iſland of Guam.

THIS iſland is forty leagues in circumference. It's harbour, ſituated in the weſtern part, and defended by a battery of eight guns, is formed on one ſide by a ſlip of land which advances two leagues into the ſea, and on the other by a ſhoal of the ſame extent, which ſurrounds it almoſt circularly. Four ſhips may anchor here, ſheltered from all winds except the weſtern, which never blows hard in theſe latitudes.

AT the diſtance of four leagues from this harbour, upon the borders of the ſea, and in a fortunate poſition, the agreeable town of Agana is ſituated. In this chief place of the colony, and in twenty-one ſmall hamlets ſcattered around the iſland, fifteen hundred inhabitants are diſtributed,

BOOK VI.

the unfortunate remains of a population formerly numerous.

The interior part of Guam ſerves as an aſylum and a paſturage for the goats, hogs, oxen, and poultry, which the Spaniards brought there at the time of the conqueſt, and which have ſince become wild. Theſe animals, which muſt either be ſhot or caught in a trap, were the principal food of the Indians and of their oppreſſors, when the face of things was ſuddenly changed.

An active, humane, and enlightened man, hath at length underſtood, that population would not be reſtored, but that it would even ſtill continue decreaſing, unleſs he could ſucceed in introducing agriculture into his iſland. This elevated idea hath induced him to become himſelf a cultivator. Stimulated by his example, the natives of the country have cleared thoſe lands, the property of which he had promiſed them. Theſe fields have been covered with rice, cacao, maize, ſugar, indigo, cotton, fruits, and vegetables; the uſe of which, they had been ſuffered to remain ignorant of during one or two centuries; their ſucceſs hath increaſed their docility. Theſe children of rude nature, in whom tyranny and ſuperſtition had completed the degradation of the human ſpecies, have followed in the workſhops ſome arts of primary neceſſity; and have frequented, without any evident ſigns of reluctance, the ſchools that have been opened for their inſtruction. Their enjoyments have increaſed with their occupations; and they have at length experienced happineſs in one of the fineſt countries

tries in the world: ſo true it is that every thing may be accompliſhed by mildneſs and benevolence, ſince theſe virtues are capable of extinguiſhing reſentment even in the mind of a ſavage.

This unexpected revolution hath been brought about by M. Tobias; who, in 1772, ſtill governed the Marianne iſlands. May this virtuous and reſpectable Spaniard one day obtain what would complete his happineſs, the conſolation of ſeeing his favourite children forego their paſſion for the cocoa-tree wine, and their turn for labour increaſe!

If the Spaniards, from the beginning, had been inſpired with the reaſonable views of the prudent Tobias, the Marianne iſlands would have been civilized and cultivated. This double advantage would have procured to this Archipelago, a ſecurity which it cannot expect from a garriſon of an hundred and fifty men, concentrated in Guam.

The conquerors, quiet in their poſſeſſions, would then have devoted themſelves to their paſſion for new diſcoveries, which were at that time the prevailing turn of the nation. Aſſiſted by the genius of their new ſubjects for navigation, their activity would have conveyed the uſeful arts, and the ſpirit of ſociety, into the numerous iſlands that cover the Pacific Ocean, and ſtill beyond them. The Univerſe would have been enlarged, as it were, by ſuch glorious labours. All commercial nations would undoubtedly have derived, in proceſs of time, ſome advantage

BOOK VI.

from connections formed with theſe regions, which were before unknow'n: ſince it is impoſſible that one nation ſhould enrich itſelf, and that others ſhould not partake of it's proſperity; but the court of Madrid would have enjoyed ſooner, and more conſtantly, the productions of theſe new eſtabliſhments. If we do not miſtake, this arrangement of matters would have been more advantageous to Spain, than that which confines the Marianne iſlands to the furniſhing of refreſhments for the galleons, returning from Mexico to the Philippines, as California is deſtined to ſupply them to thoſe which go from the Philippines to Mexico.

Antient and modern ſtate of California.

CALIFORNIA is properly a long neck of land, which proceeds from the northern coaſts of America, and runs along between eaſt and ſouth as far as the torrid zone: it is waſhed on each ſide by the Pacific Ocean. The part that is know'n of this peninſula is three hundred leagues long, and ten, twenty, thirty, or forty broad.

IT is impoſſible that, throughout ſuch an extent of country, the nature of the ſoil and the temperature of the air ſhould be every where the ſame. It may be ſaid, however, that, in general, the climate here is dry and exceſſively hot; the ground bare, ſtony, mountainous, ſandy, and conſequently barren, and unfit for agriculture and for the breeding of cattle. Amidſt the ſmall number of trees that are found here, the moſt uſeful is the pitahaya, the produce of which conſtitutes the principal food of the Californians. This tree is a ſpecies of the *Cereus Peruvianus*, which, like the reſt

reſt of the ſame claſs, hath no leaves. It's ſtems, which are ſtraight and fluted, have their ſides full of prickles, and furniſh an immediate ſupport to ſome whitiſh flowers, ſimilar to thoſe of the nopal on which the cochineal lives, but much longer. The fruits which ſucceed theſe flowers have inequalities upon their ſurface, which are produced by the remaining baſis of the ſcales of the calix. They are of the ſize of a hen's egg, red on the outſide, and filled on the inſide with a white pulp fit for eating, and ſweeter and more delicate than the ordinary fig. In the midſt of this pulp are found ſome ſmall, black, and ſhining ſeeds.

The ſea, which is richer than the land, ſwarms with moſt excellent fiſh of every kind. But the circumſtance which renders the gulph of California of more importance is the pearls, which, in the fiſhing-ſeaſon, draw there, from the ſeveral provinces of Mexico, a ſet of greedy men, who have been ſubjected to the tax of giving the fifth part of their fiſhery to government.

The Californians are well-made, and very ſtrong. They are extremely puſillanimous, inconſtant, indolent, ſtupid, and even inſenſible. They are children, in whom reaſon is not yet unfolded. They are more ſwarthy than the Mexicans. This difference of colour proves that the civilized ſtate of ſociety ſubverts or totally changes the order and laws of nature, ſince we find under the temperate zone a ſavage people, that are blacker than the civilized nations of the torrid zone.

BEFORE the Europeans had penetrated into California, the natives had no form of religion; and that of their government was ſuch as might be expected from their ignorance. Each nation was an aſſemblage of ſeveral cottages, more or leſs numerous, that were all mutually confederated by alliances, but without any chief. They were ſtrangers even to filial obedience, although this ſentiment be, if not more lively, at leaſt more pure, in the ſtate of nature than in that of ſociety.

IN reality, the helps which a regular ſyſtem of police aſſures to all individuals among civilized nations, the young ſavages expect only from their father. It is he who provides for their ſubſiſtence when they are children, and who watches for their ſafety. How is it poſſible that they ſhould not have recourſe to his benevolence? How ſhould they not avoid, with care, what might deprive them of his ſupport?

RESPECT, which is not exacted, can ſcarce be diminiſhed in children, who conſtantly return, impelled by habit ſtill more than by want, to the cottage in which they were born, and from which they never wander to any diſtance. The ſeparations which education, induſtry, and trade, ſo frequently occaſion amongſt us, and which cannot but looſen the ties of kindred, are unknown among the ſavages. They remain with the perſon to whom they owe their exiſtence, as long as he lives. It is not poſſible, therefore, that they ſhould deviate from obedience. They receive no imperious orders. There is no being more free

than

than the little ſavage. He is born in a ſtate of liberty. He goes and comes, walks out and returns, and even ſleeps from home, without ever being aſked what he hath been doing, or what hath been become of him. The idea of exerting family authority, in order to bring him back, if he ſhould chuſe to diſappear, would never be ſuggeſted. Nothing is ſo common in cities as bad fathers; but there are none to be found amidſt the foreſts. The more ſocieties increaſe in opulence and luxury, the leſs are the claims of conſanguinity attended to. We may even venture to ſay, that the ſeverity, variety, and long continuance of our ſyſtem of education; that all theſe ſeveral fatigues contribute to alienate the affection of our children for us. Nothing but experience can reconcile them to us. We are obliged to wait a long time before our cares are returned with gratitude, and our reprimands are forgotten. The ſavage hath never hear'd any of theſe from the mouth of his parents. He was never chaſtiſed by them. When he knew how to ſtrike the animal on whom he was to feed, he had ſcarce any thing more to learn. His paſſions being natural, he can ſatisfy them without dreading the ſeverity of his parents; while there are numberleſs motives which oblige our parents to counteract our propenſities. Can it be ſuppoſed that there is not one child among us, who, impelled by the deſire of enjoying ſpeedily a large fortune, does not think that his father lives too long? We wiſh we could perſuade ourſelves that there were not. The heart of the ſavage, to whom

BOOK VI.

whom his father hath nothing to leave, is a ſtranger to this kind of parricide.

In our families, children are apt to think that their aged parents talk at random; but it is not the ſame in the hut of the ſavage. There is very little talking in it, and a high opinion is entertained of the wiſdom of parents. Their inſtructions ſupply the deficiency of obſervation reſpecting the craft of animals, the woods which contain game, the coaſts abounding in fiſh, and the ſeaſons and times proper for hunting and fiſhing. If the old man ſhould relate any particularities of his wars or of his travels; if he ſhould recall the memory of the battles he hath been engaged in, or of the ſnares he hath eſcaped; if he ſhould elevate his mind to explain to his children ſome of the moſt ſimple phænomena of nature; if, on a ſtar-light night, ſtanding at the entrance of his hut, he ſhould trace out to them, with his finger, the courſe of the conſtellations that glitter over their heads, according to the limited knowlege he hath of them: all theſe circumſtances will excite their admiration of him. Should a ſtorm come on, ſhould any revolution happen upon the earth, in the air, or in the waters, or ſhould any agreeable or diſtreſſing event take place, all the children exclaim, our father foretold it to us; and their ſubmiſſion to his counſels, as well as their veneration for his perſon, is increaſed. When he is drawing near to his laſt moments, anxiety and grief are painted in their countenances, their tears flow at his death, and a long-continued ſilence prevails around

around his bed. He is laid in the earth, and his burial-place is ſacred. Annual honours are paid to his aſhes; and, in important or doubtful circumſtances, they are ſometimes conſulted. Children, alas! among ourſelves are devoted to ſo many diſſipations, that their fathers are ſoon forgotten by them. It is not, however, that I prefer a ſavage to a civilized ſtate. This is a proteſtation I have made more than once. But the more I reflect upon this point, the more it ſeems to me, that from the moſt rude to the moſt civilized ſtate of nature, every thing is nearly compenſated, virtues and vices, natural good and evil. In the foreſt, as well as in ſociety, the happineſs of one individual may be leſs or greater than that of another: but I imagine that nature hath ſet certain bounds to the felicity of every conſiderable portion of the human ſpecies, beyond which we have nearly as much to loſe as to gain.

Mexico had no ſooner been pacified, than Cortez conceived the project of adding California to his conqueſts. He undertook this expedition himſelf, in 1526; but it was not a ſucceſsful one. Thoſe which were afterwards undertaken in rapid ſucceſſion to each other, during the courſe of two centuries, were not more fortunate; whether the expences of them were ſupported by individuals or by the government: this continuance of adverſe fortune may be accounted for.

The cuſtom of taking views, tracing plans, or charts, of the places that were viſited, was not then very common. If ſome adventurer, more

 intelligent,

BOOK VI.

intelligent, or more laborious than his companions, wrote an account of his voyage, it was ſeldom depoſited in the public regiſters; and if it were, it was buried in the duſt and forgotten. The printing of it would have remedied this inconvenience; but the fear of making foreigners acquainted with what it was impoſſible to conceal from them, occaſioned this mode of communication to be rejected. Thus it was, that the people gained no experience. Abſurdities were perpetuated; and the laſt commanders who undertook theſe expeditions, miſcarried by the ſame faults, that had prevented the ſucceſs of the former.

The conqueſt of California had been entirely given up, when the Jeſuits, in 1697, ſolicited permiſſion to undertake it. As ſoon as they had obtained the conſent of government, they began to execute a plan of legiſlation, which they had formed from accurate ideas of the nature of the ſoil, the character of the inhabitants, and the influence of the climate. Their proceedings were not directed by fanaticiſm. They arrived among the ſavages whom they intended to civilize, with curioſities that might amuſe them; with corn for their food, and with apparel calculated to pleaſe them. The hatred theſe people bore to the Spaniſh name could not ſupport itſelf againſt theſe demonſtrations of benevolence. They teſtified their acknowlegments as much as their want of ſenſibility and their inconſtancy would permit them. Theſe faults were partly overcome by the religious inſtitutors, who purſued their

their project with a degree of warmth and aſſiduity peculiar to their ſociety. They made themſelves carpenters, maſons, weavers, and huſbandmen; and by theſe means ſucceeded in imparting knowlege, and, in ſome meaſure, a taſte for the moſt uſeful arts, to this ſavage people, who have been all ſucceſſively formed into one body. In 1745, they compoſed forty-three villages, that were ſeparated from each other by the barrenneſs of the ſoil, and the want of water.

The inhabitants of theſe ſmall villages ſubſiſt principally on corn and pulſe, which they cultivate, and on the fruits and domeſtic animals of Europe, the breeding of which is an object of continual attention. The Indians have each their field, and the property of what they reap; but ſuch is their want of foreſight, that they would ſquander in a day what they had gathered, if the miſſionary did not take upon himſelf to diſtribute it to them as they ſtand in need of it. They already manufacture ſome coarſe ſtuffs. The neceſſaries they are in want of are purchaſed with pearls, which they fiſh in the gulph, and with wine nearly reſembling that of Madeira, which they ſell to New Spain and to the galleons; and the uſe of which, experience hath ſhew'n, it is neceſſary to prohibit among them.

A few laws, that are very ſimple, are ſufficient to regulate this riſing ſtate. In order to enforce the obſervance of them, the miſſionary chuſes the moſt intelligent perſon of the village; who is impowered to whip and impriſon; the only puniſhments of which they have any knowlege.

So

BOOK VI.

So many cruel and deſtructive ſcenes have hitherto diſtreſſed our minds, that we may be permitted to ſtop for a moment in conſidering labours that were inſpired by humanity, and directed by benevolence: all other conqueſts had been made by force of arms. We have ſeen nothing but men deſtroying or loading each other with chains. The regions we have gone over, have ſucceſſively preſented to us ſo many ſcenes of perfidy, of ferociouſneſs, of treachery, of avarice, and of all the crimes to which man is ſtimulated by the combination and violence of the moſt inordinate paſſions. The traces of our pen have been conſtantly marked with blood. The region we are now entered upon, is the only one which hath been ſubdued by reaſon. Let us repoſe ourſelves, and take breath. Let the picture of innocence and peace diſſipate the gloomy ideas with which we have hitherto been aſſailed, and relieve us for a moment from thoſe painful ſenſations with which our heart hath ſo conſtantly been oppreſſed, agonized, and tor'n. Alas! the new ſenſations I experience will laſt too ſhort a time to excite envy. Thoſe great cataſtrophes which ſubvert the globe, and the deſcription of which, is pleaſing to all readers, from the violence of the ſhocks they receive from them, and from the tears, partly delicious, and partly bitter, which they draw from their eyes, will ſoon fully the remainder of theſe deplorable annals. Readers, are ye wicked, or are ye good? If ye were good, ye would not, it ſhould ſeem, liſten to the recital of theſe calamities; if ye were wicked, ye would

would hear them without ſhedding a tear. Yet, I perceive your eyes are overflowing. Ye pant after happineſs, and yet misfortune alone can awaken your attention. The reaſon of it is plain. The afflictions of others, afford you comfort in your own, and your ſelf-eſtimation is increaſed, by the compaſſion you beſtow upon them.

In all California there are only two garriſons, each conſiſting of thirty men, and a ſoldier with every miſſionary. Theſe troops were choſen by the legiſlators, and were under their orders, though they were paid by the government. The court of Madrid ſaw no inconvenience in leaving theſe trifling forces in the hands of thoſe who had acquired their confidence; and they have been convinced, that this was the only expedient to preſerve their new conqueſts from a ſyſtem of oppreſſion totally deſtructive.

Such was the ſtate of affairs when, in 1767, the court of Madrid expelled the Jeſuits from California, as they did from all the other provinces. Theſe miſſionaries had formed the project of carrying on their labours upon the two ſhores of the ſea, as far as the chain of mountains which connects California with New Spain. They wiſhed to raiſe the empire, the ſubjects of which they were increaſing, to a degree of power, that might allow them to behold with tranquillity the voyages of the Ruſſians, and the diſcovery of the North-Weſt paſſage, which the Engliſh have been in ſearch of for ſo long a time. Far from abandoning theſe great projects, it is ſaid that the Spaniſh miniſtry hath extended them ſtill further.

BOOK VI.

further. It will not even be long before the inhabitants of the two hemiſpheres will ſee them carried into execution, unleſs ſome unſurmountable obſtacles, proceeding from unexpected events, ſhould counteract their plans.

But 'till theſe vaſt ſpeculations ſhall either be annihilated or realiſed, California ſerves for a port of refreſhment for ſhips that ſail from the Philippine iſlands to Mexico. Cape St. Lucas, ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of the peninſula, is the place where they touch. There they find a good harbour, refreſhments, and ſignals, which give them information of the appearance of any enemy in theſe latitudes, which are the moſt dangerous for them. It was in 1734 that the galleon arrived there for the firſt time; where it hath ever ſince been ordered, or compelled by neceſſity, to ſtop.

The ſyſtem, adopted by all the ſtates of Europe, of holding colonies in the moſt abſolute dependance on the mother-country, hath always rendered the connexions of Mexico with Aſia ſuſpicious to ſeveral of the Spaniſh politicians. Far from agreeing with them in opinion, Alberoni wiſhed to give an unlimited extenſion to the freedom of theſe connections. It appeared to him a very wiſe plan, that the Eaſt Indies ſhould clothe the two continents of America. It was his idea, that the coloniſts would be dreſſed more to their taſte, at a cheaper rate, and in a manner more ſuitable to the climate. In times of the European wars they would not be expoſed, as they frequently had been, to the want of the

moſt common and neceſſary articles of life. They would be richer, more attached to the mother-country, and better able to defend themſelves againſt the enemies it might draw upon them. Theſe enemies themſelves would be leſs formidable, becauſe they would gradually loſe the ſtrength which they acquire from furniſhing Mexico and Peru with proviſions. Spain, in a word, by collecting from the merchandize of India, the ſame duties which it receives from thoſe that are furniſhed by it's rivals, would loſe no part of it's revenue. It might even, upon emergencies, obtain from it's colonies ſuccours, which, at preſent, they have neither the will nor the power to ſupply.

The views of this bold and enterprizing miniſter were extended ſtill further. He wiſhed that the mother-country itſelf ſhould form immenſe connections with the Eaſt, through the medium of it's American colonies. According to him, the Philippines, which had hitherto paid an enormous tribute to the induſtry of the European, or Aſiatic nations, that furniſhed them with manufactures, or productions, might ſend their inhabitants in ſearch of them, upon their own ſhips, and obtain them at firſt hand. By giving the ſame quantity of metals as their competitors, they would purchaſe at a cheaper rate, becauſe theſe metals coming directly from America, would not have incurred ſo much expence, as thoſe which are conveyed into our regions, before they go to India. The merchandize embarked at Manilla, would arrive at

Panama, upon an ocean perpetually calm, in a very ſtraight line, and with the ſame winds. By means of a very ſhort canal, which hath been ſolicited a long time by the merchants, the cargoes would afterwards be eaſily conveyed to the mouth of the Chagre, where they would be embarked for Europe.

Alberoni was well aware, that thoſe powers, whoſe intereſts this arrangement would prejudice, and whoſe trade it would ruin, would endeavour to obſtruct it; but he thought himſelf in a condition to bid defiance to their reſentment in the European ſeas, and he had already given orders for putting the coaſts and harbours of the South Sea in a ſtate not to fear the efforts of any feeble ſquadrons that might attack them.

These views were approved of by ſome. Thoſe who were enthuſiaſts in favour of Alberoni, and there were many of them, conceived them to be the ſublime efforts of a powerful genius, for the proſperity and glory of a monarchy, which he was endeavouring to reſtore to it's former ſplendour. Others, and theſe were the greater number, conſidered theſe projects, ſo great in appearance, merely as the ravings of a diſordered imagination, which exaggerated the reſources of a ruined ſtate, and which flattered itſelf that it ſhould give the commerce of the whole world to a nation reduced, for two centuries paſt, to the impoſſibility of carrying on it's own. The diſgrace of this extraordinary man quieted the ferment which he had raiſed in the two hemiſpheres. The connections of the Philippines with Mexico, continued upon the former footing,

as well as thoſe which this great province maintained with Peru by the South Sea.

Communication of Mexico with Peru and with Spain by means of Guatimala.

THE coaſts of Mexico do not reſemble thoſe of Peru, where the vicinity and height of the Cordeleras entertain a perpetual ſpring, and keep up regular and mild winds. As ſoon as the line is croſſed, at the height of Panama, the free communication of the atmoſphere from Eaſt to Weſt being no longer interrupted by that prodigious chain of mountains, the climate becomes different. The navigation, indeed, is eaſy and ſafe in theſe latitudes from the middle of October to the end of May: but during the reſt of the year, the calms and ſtorms which alternately prevail, render the ſea troubleſome and dangerous.

THE coaſt which borders this ocean, hath an extent of ſix hundred leagues. Formerly, not one ſingle trading veſſel, nor fiſhing ſmack, was know'n to come out of the ports which nature hath formed there. This inactivity was partly owen to the indolence of the people: but the fatal arrangements made by the court of Madrid, had contributed ſtill more to produce it.

WHEN the empire of the Incas, and that of Montezuma, firſt became provinces of Spain, the communication between them by the South Sea was open and uncontrouled. Some time after this, it was reſtrained to two ſhips; and in 1636 it was entirely prohibited. Urgent and repeated repreſentations determined the government to open it again at the end of half a century, but

with reſtrictions that rendered it of no effect. It was not till 1774, that North and South America were allowed to make all the exchanges which their mutual intereſt might require. The ſeveral parts of the two regions will undoubtedly derive great advantages from this new arrangement of things. It may however be foretold, that it will be more ſerviceable to Guatimala than to any other country.

This audience extends it's important juriſdiction over twelve leagues to the weſt, ſixty to the Eaſt, a hundred to the North, and three hundred to the South: it is formed by ſeven or eight provinces.

That of Coſta Ricca is very thinly peopled, but little cultivated, and ſcarce affords any thing except cattle. A great part of the antient inhabitants have hitherto refuſed to ſubmit to the yoke.

Nicaragua is regularly diſtreſſed every year with a ſix month's rain, which falls down in torrents, and a ſix month's devouring drought. The inhabitants are ſome of the moſt effeminate men of New Spain, though among the leaſt opulent.

The Caſtilians have exerciſed more cruelties at Honduras than at any other place. They made a deſert of it, and accordingly they get nothing from it, except a little caſſia, and ſome ſarſaparilla.

Vera-Paz uſed to furniſh the Old Mexico, with thoſe bright plumages, of which thoſe pictures, that have been extolled for ſo long a

time, were compoſed. This province hath loſt all it's importance, ſince this kind of trade hath been given up.

Soconusco is know'n only by the perfection of it's Cacao. The greateſt part of this fruit, ſupplies America itſelf. The two hundred quintals that are brought to Europe belong to government. If there be a greater quantity than the court can conſume, it is ſold to the public at double the price of that which comes from Caraccas.

Chiapa, though in the center of Mexico, formed a ſtate independent of that empire at the arrival of the Spaniards: but this diſtrict was alſo compelled to yield to arms, the progreſs of which nothing could ſtop. There was not much blood ſpilt on this ſpot, and the Indians are ſtill more numerous here than any where elſe. As the province abounds only in corn, fruits, and paſturage, few of the conquerors ſettled in it; and this is perhaps the reaſon why man is leſs degraded, and leſs degenerated here, than in thoſe diſtricts that are full of mines, or advantageouſly ſituated for trade. The natives ſhew ſome intelligence, and a degree of aptitude for the arts, and they ſpeak a language which is ſoft, and hath even ſome ſort of elegance. Theſe qualities are eſpecially remarkable at Chiapa de Los-Indios, a city of ſome importance, where the moſt conſiderable families of the natives have taken refuge, which they alone occupy, and where they enjoy great privileges. The dexterity and courage of theſe men, who are leſs oppreſſed

BOOK VI.

preſſed than their neighbours, is habitually diſplayed, upon the river which waſhes their walls. With a number of boats they form naval armaments, inſtitute ſea fights with each other, and attack and defend themſelves with ſurpriſing agility. They build up caſtles of wood, which they cover with painted linen, and lay ſiege to them. They do not leſs excel in bull-fighting, cudgelling, dancing, and all bodily exerciſe. How much will theſe accounts make us regret, that the Indians ſhould have fallen under the power of a conqueror, who hath contracted, inſtead of enlarging, the bonds of their ſervitude.

The province of Guatimala hath, in common with the other provinces dependent upon it, cattle, mines, corn, maize, ſugar, and cotton: but none of the reſt ſhare with it the advantage of cultivating indigo. It is upon it's territory that a city bearing it's name is ſituated, where all the offices of adminiſtration, and all the tribunals neceſſary for the government of ſo large a country, are united.

This celebrated city was built, whether properly or improperly, in a valley, about three miles broad, and bounded by two lofty mountains. From the mountain towards the South run ſeveral rivulets and fountains, which delightfully refreſh the villages that are ſituated on the declivity, and keep up a perpetual ſucceſſion of flowers and fruits. The aſpect of the mountain that is to the North, is terrible. There is no verdure ever ſeen upon it; nothing but aſhes, and calcined

ſtones.

ſtones. A kind of rumbling noiſe, which the inhabitants aſcribe to the boiling of metals that are in a ſtate of fuſion within the caverns of the earth, is continually hear'd. From theſe internal furnaces iſſue flames and torrents of ſulphur, which fill the air with a horrible infection. Guatimala, according to an expreſſion much uſed, is ſituated between paradiſe and hell.

THE articles that are wanted in Peru, are diſpatched from this capital by the South Sea. The gold, the ſilver, and the indigo deſtined for this continent, are carried upon mules to the town of St. Thomas, ſituated at the diſtance of ſixty leagues from the city, at the extremity of a very deep lake, which loſes itſelf in the gulph of Honduras. All theſe riches are exchanged in this ſtaple for the merchandize that is brought from Europe in the months of July and Auguſt. This place is intirely open, though it would have been very eaſy to have ſecured it from every attack; the more ſo as it's entrance is rendered narrow by two high rocks, which project on each ſide within cannon-ſhot of each other. It is probable that Spain will not alter her conduct till ſhe hath ſuffered for her negligence; which ſhe might eaſily be made to do.

THE veſſels that ſhould undertake this expedition might anchor in perfect ſafety in the road. A thouſand or twelve hundred men, landing at St. Thomas, might paſs over the mountains for the ſpace of fifteen leagues, where they would find commodious roads and ſubſiſtence. The reſt of their way would be acroſs plains that are well

BOOK VI.

well peopled and plentiful. They would then arrive at Guatimala, in which there is not a ſingle ſoldier, nor the leaſt fortification. It's forty thouſand ſouls, Indians, Negroes, Meſtees, and Spaniards, who have never ſeen an enemy, would be incapable of making the leaſt reſiſtance. In order to ſave their lives, they would deliver up the immenſe riches they have been accumulating for more than two centuries, which would amount at leaſt to thirty millions *. The troops would reimbark with this booty, and, if they choſe it, with hoſtages that would ſecure their retreat.

UNFORTUNATELY this danger cannot now be incurred. A dreadful earthquake hath completely deſtroyed Guatimala in 1772. This city, one of the richeſt in America, preſents nothing but a heap of ruins.

IN other countries ſuch a city would ſoon be reſtored again; for what cannot active and induſtrious nations do? By them, regions that were thought uninhabitable are peopled; the moſt ungrateful ſoil is rendered fruitful; the waters are driven back, and this fertility ariſes from the ſlime; moraſſes are made to bear houſes; and man cuts roads for himſelf through the bodies of mountains. He ſeparates, or connects together, at pleaſure, the rocks, by bridges which are, as it were, ſuſpended over the obſcure depth of the abyſs, at the bottom of which the angry torrent ſeems to murmur at his boldneſs. He raiſes dikes againſt the ſwelling of the ſea, and ſleeps with tranquillity in the dwelling which he hath

* 1,250,000l.

founded

founded on the waves. He collects together a few planks, and sitting down upon them, orders the winds to convey him to the extremity of the globe, and the winds obey his commands. O man! that art sometimes so pusillanimous and so little, how great dost thou appear in thy projects, and in thine actions; with two feeble levers of flesh, and assisted only by thine understanding, thou dost attack the whole system of nature, and dost subdue her! Thou bravest the conspiring elements, and dost reduce them to obedience! Nothing can resist thee, whether thy soul be tormented with love, or with the desire of possessing some beautiful woman, destined one day to become the object of thine aversion; whether it be swayed by interest, or by the rage of filling thy coffers with riches, from which thou dost flatter thyself with the prospect of enjoyments which thou wilt reject when in thy power; or whether it be stimulated with the thirst of glory, or the ambition of obtaining the applause of thy cotemporaries whom thou dost despise, or of posterity, which cannot certainly have a stronger claim to thy reverence! If thou dost great things from passion, thou dost others equally great from a spirit of restlessness end disquietude. Thou wast acquainted with but one world; and when thou didst conjecture the existence of another, thou didst go in search of it, and didst find it. I have progressively followed thy footsteps in this New World. If the boldness of thine enterprizes should sometimes have concealed their enormity from me, I am still equally confounded, whether thy

BOOK VI.

thy crimes freeze me with horror, or thy virtues tranſport me with admiration.

Such is the picture of the ferocious Spaniards who conquered America: but the nature of the climate, a vicious adminiſtration, and the plentiful enjoyment of all things, enervated their deſcendants. Every undertaking which carried with it the leaſt difficulty, was found to be above the efforts of their corrupted minds; and their effeminate arms refuſed every kind of labour. During this long period, a ſtate of lethargy prevailed, of which there are few examples in hiſtory. How was it poſſible, that in ſuch a ſtate, a city ſwallowed up by volcanoes, ſhould have been raiſed out of it's ruins? But for ſome years paſt, the ſpirit of the nation hath been reviving. Already hath the plan of another city been traced, more ſpacious, more convenient, more beautiful than the former: and it will be erected at the diſtance of eight leagues from that, upon a more ſolid baſis. Already hath the court of Madrid, contrary to their uſual and too tardy modes of proceeding, ſet aſide the funds neceſſary for the conſtruction of the public edifices. Already do the inhabitants, relieved from thoſe tributes which might have ſerved as a reaſon or as a pretence for their inactivity, coincide with the views of government. New Spain will ſoon be embelliſhed with a New Guatimala. If this exertion ſhould continue, or if it ſhould increaſe, the Engliſh will probably be driven from the ſettlements they have begun between the Lake of Nicaragua and Cape Honduras.

This

Description of Honduras, Jucatan, and Campeachy. Reasons of the disputes between Spain and England in these parts.

This district occupies one hundred and eighty leagues of the coast, and runs back into the inland parts, as far as some very high mountains at a greater or less distance from the ocean.

The climate is wholesome and temperate. The soil is commonly even, very well watered, and seems fit for all the productions cultivated between the tropics. The inhabitants are not here exposed to those frequent droughts and terrible hurricanes, which, in the islands of the New World, so often frustrate the most reasonable expectations.

The country is chiefly inhabited by the Moskito Indians. These people were formerly numerous: but the small-pox hath considerably diminished their population. It is not supposed that their several tribes can at present put more than nine or ten thousand men under arms.

A nation, still less populous, is fixed in the environs of Cape Gracias-à-Dios. These are the Samboes, descendents, as it is said, of the crew of a Guinea ship which was shipwrecked in these latitudes. Their complection, their features, their hair, and their propensities, will scarce allow us to assign any other origin to them.

The English are the only Europeans, whom their cupidity hath induced to settle in these savage regions.

Their first establishment was formed about the year 1730, at twenty-six leagues distance from Cape Honduras. It's position, at the extremity of the coast, and upon the Black River, which hath no more than six feet water at it's mouth,

BOOK VI.

mouth, will probably always retard and prevent it's progreſs.

At the diſtance of fifty-four leagues from this colony is Gracias-à-Dios; the harbour of which, formed by an arm of the ſea, is immenſe, and tolerably ſafe. It is near this famous cape that the Engliſh have fixed themſelves, upon a navigable river, the borders of which are very fertile.

Seventy leagues beyond this, this enterprizing nation hath found, at Blue-field ſome ſpacious and fruitful plains, an acceſſible river, a convenient harbour, and a rock which might eaſily be made impregnable.

In 1769, the three factories did not employ more than two hundred and ſix white men, as many Mulattoes, and nine hundred ſlaves. Excluſive of the mules and other articles ſent to Jamaica, they ſent this year to Europe eight hundred thouſand feet of mahogany, two hundred thouſand pounds weight of ſarſaparilla, and ten thouſand pounds of tortoiſe-ſhell. The number of hands hath been ſince increaſed. Sugar-canes have begun to be planted; and the firſt ſugar they have yielded hath been found to be of a ſuperior quality. Some careful obſervers affirm, that a quiet poſſeſſion of the Moſkito country, would one day be more valuable to Great Britain, than all the iſlands which that nation now poſſeſſes in the Weſt Indies.

The Engliſh do not ſeem to form the leaſt doubt reſpecting their right of property. Never, ſay the writers of this country, did Spain ſubdue

theſe

theſe people, and never did theſe people ſubmit to Spain. They were by right, and *ipſo facto*, independent, when, in 1670, their chiefs, of their own accord, had recourſe to England, and acknowleged it's ſovereignty. So little was this ſubmiſſion compelled, that it was renewed at ſeveral intervals. At their ſolicitation, the court of London ſent, in 1741, a body of troops upon this territory, and theſe were ſoon followed by a civil adminiſtration. If, after the peace of 1763, the troops and the magiſtrates were withdraw'n, and if the fortifications, raiſed for the ſecurity of the ſavages, and their protectors, were demoliſhed, this was owen to the ignorance of the miniſtry, who ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded, that the Moſkito country made part of the Bay of Honduras. This miſtake having been removed, a regular form of government hath again been eſtabliſhed in theſe regions at the beginning of 1776.

We ſhould not ſcruple to enter upon the diſcuſſion of theſe great intereſts, if the powers which they concern, conducted themſelves with reaſon and juſtice: but it is ſtrength and convenience that ſettles every thing between them, although none of them have had the boldneſs to acknowlege it. Monarchs, what is that falſe ſhame which checks you? Since equity is for you nothing but an idle name, why do ye not avow it? Of what uſe are thoſe treaties which cannot guarantee the continuation of peace, to which the weakeſt is compelled to accede; which denote nothing in either of the contracting parties, except

BOOK VI.

except their being exhauſted of the means to continue the war; and which are always infringed? It would be better that ye ſhould ſign only a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, without fixing the duration of it. If ye have reſolved to be unjuſt, ceaſe, at leaſt, to be perfidious; for perfidy is a baſe and odious vice, inconſiſtent with the dignity of potentates. The fox in the lion's ſkin, or the lion in the fox's ſkin, are two animals equally ridiculous. But, inſtead of addreſſing our diſcourſe to deaf perſons, whom we cannot convince of any thing, and whom we may offend, let us give ſome account of the Bay of Honduras and Campeachy, and of the peninſula of Jucatan, which ſeparates them.

This peninſula is a hundred leagues in length, and twenty or five and twenty in breadth. The country is entirely level. There is neither a river nor a ſtream to be ſeen in it: but the water is every where ſo near the ſurface of the earth, and the ſhells are every where found in ſo great abundance, that this large ſpace muſt formerly have made part of the ſea. The firſt Spaniards who appeared upon theſe coaſts, found, according to Herrera, a very ſingular cuſtom eſtabliſhed there. The men generally carried about them ſome looking-glaſſes made of a ſhining ſtone, in which they inceſſantly viewed themſelves, while the women never made any uſe of this inſtrument, which is of ſo much value to beauty.

If the continual uſe which women make in our country of a looking-glaſs, only ſhews the deſire that they have of making themſelves agreeable

able to the men, by adding to the charms which they have received from nature, every attention that art can give them; the men would be taking the ſame trouble at Jucatan in order to pleaſe the women. But it is ſo ſingular a fact, that we may reaſonably call it in queſtion, unleſs it be ſupported by another, ſtill more extraordinary, which is, that the men devote themſelves to idleneſs, while the women are condemned to labour. When the functions peculiar to the two ſexes are perverted, I ſhall not be ſurprized to find in one, the frivoloufneſs of the other.

The Jucatan, Honduras, and Campeachy, did not offer to the devaſtators of the New Hemiſphere thoſe rich metals for which they had croſſed ſo many ſeas. Accordingly, they neglected, and deſpiſed theſe regions. Few of them ſettled there; and thoſe who came there by chance, ſoon contracted the indolence of the Indians. None of them attended to the cultivation of productions fit for exportation. In common with the colonies which had been deſtroyed or enſlaved, they lived upon cacao, and maize; to which they had added, the eaſy and convenient reſource, of cattle brought from the Old World. In order to pay for their cloathing, which they either would not, or knew not how to make themſelves, and for ſome other articles of moderate value, which they were ſupplied with from Europe, they had properly no other reſource, than a kind of wood for dying, know'n in all the markets by the name of Campeachy or log-wood.

The

THE tree which furniſhes it, is rather high, hath alternate leaves, compoſed of eight ſmaller ones, in form of a heart, and diſpoſed in two rows along one common coſta. It's flowers, which are ſmall and reddiſh, are collected in cluſters at the extremities of the branches. They have each of them a calix of a ſingle piece; from the bottom of each ariſe five petals, and ten diſtinct ſtamina; the piſtil, placed in the center, becomes a ſmall oval pod, flattened, and divided longitudinally into two ovals filled with two or three ſeeds. The moſt internal part of the wood, which is at firſt red, becomes black ſome time after the wood hath been felled. It is only this inner part of the tree that yields this black and violet colour.

THE taſte for theſe colours, which was perhaps more general two centuries ago than it is at preſent, procured a conſiderable vent for this precious wood. This ſale was for the benefit of the Spaniards alone, 'till the ſettlement of the Engliſh at Jamiaca.

AMONG the multitude of pirates who were continually coming from this famous iſland, ſeveral went to cruiſe in the two bays, and on the coaſts of the peninſula, to intercept the veſſels that ſailed there. Theſe plunderers were ſo little acquainted with the value of their cargo, that, when they found barks laden with it, they took away nothing but the iron utenſils. One of them having carried off a large veſſel, which had nothing elſe but the logwood on board, brought it into the Thames, deſigning only to equip it as a privateer;

teer; when, contrary to his expectation, he ſold at a very high price the wood which he had thought to be of ſo little value, that he had always burnt it during his voyage. After this diſcovery, the pirates, who were not ſucceſsful at ſea, never failed to repair to the river of Champeton, where they took on board the piles of wood which were always found ranged on the ſhore.

The peace of the Engliſh with Spain having put a ſtop to the depredations of theſe pirates, ſeveral of them employed themſelves in cutting Indian wood. Cape Catoche furniſhed them at firſt with abundance. As ſoon as they perceived it diminiſh, they went to ſettle between Tabaſco and the river of Champeton, about Lake Triſte, and in Beef Iſland, which is very near it. In 1675 their numbers amounted to two hundred and ſixty. Their ardour, which at firſt was extreme, ſoon gave way; and the habit of idleneſs prevailed. As the greateſt part of them were excellent markſmen, the chace became their predominant paſſion; and their former inclination to plunder was rekindled in them by this exerciſe. They ſoon began to make inroads into the Indian towns, the inhabitants of which they carried off. The women were deſtined to wait on them; and the men they ſold at Jamaica, or other iſlands. The Spaniards, rouſed from their lethargy by theſe enormities, ſurpriſed them in the midſt of their debaucheries, and carried them off. Moſt of them were even taken in their cottages: they were led priſoners

BOOK VI.

to Mexico, where they ended their days in the mines.

Those who escaped took refuge in the Gulph of Honduras, where they were joined by some wandering freebooters of North America. In process of time they increased to fifteen hundred men. The state of independence and plenty in which they lived, rendered the marshy country they inhabited agreeable to them. Strong intrenchments secured them and their provisions; and they confined themselves to those employments, which their unhappy companions lamented that they had ever neglected. They only took care not to penetrate into the interior part of the country, to cut wood, without being well armed.

Their industry was crowned with the greatest success. In reality, the tun of wood, which had been sold as high as nine hundred livres *, was gradually fallen to a very low price; but this disadvantage in the price was compensated by the quantity that was sold. The cutters delivered up the produce of their labours, either to the people of Jamaica, who brought them Madeira wine, strong liquors, linens, and cloaths; or to the English colonies of North America, which supplied them with provisions. This commerce, which was always carried on by smugglers, and which occasioned much clamour, became lawful in 1763. The liberty of cutting logwood was secured to Great Britain; but she was not permitted to raise forts, and was even obliged to destroy

* 37 l. 10 s.

those

thoſe which had been built. The court of Madrid ſeldom have made any ſacrifices ſo great as that of eſtabliſhing, in the center of their poſſeſſions, an active, powerful, and ambitious nation. Accordingly, ſoon after the peace, they ſought to render even this conceſſion, which unfortunate circumſtances had extorted, almoſt uſeleſs.

The wood which grows upon the dry ſoil at Campeachy, is much ſuperior to that which is cut in the marſhes of Honduras. The laſt-mentioned wood was, however, moſt in uſe, becauſe the price of the former had, for a long time paſt, exceeded all bounds. This deficiency in the ſale was a juſt puniſhment of the blindneſs and avidity of the treaſury. The Spaniſh miniſtry at length underſtood this great truth. The merchandize was diſburthened of all the duties with which it had been oppreſſed; it was freed from all the ſhackles which impeded it's circulation, and then it had a large vent in all the markets. Soon after this, the Engliſh found no ſale for their commodities. The court of Madrid, without having failed in their engagements, will find themſelves freed from a competition, which rendered the poſſeſſion of two large provinces uſeleſs to them. The port of Cadiz ſometimes receives the wood directly from the place it comes from; but it is more frequently ſent to Vera Cruz, which is the true point of union between Mexico and Spain.

It is chiefly by Vera Cruz that Mexico communicates with Spain.

Old Vera-Cruz ſerved at firſt for a mart. This town, founded by Cortez on the very ſpot where he firſt landed, is ſituated on the borders of a river,

BOOK VI.

Maxims by which this trade hath been hitherto conducted.

river, which is dry one part of the year, but which in the rainy ſeaſon is capable of receiving the largeſt veſſels. The danger to which the ſeamen were expoſed, in a ſituation where nothing defended them againſt the violence of the winds ſo common in theſe latitudes, induced them to ſeek for more ſecure ſhelter, which they found eighteen miles lower down on the ſame coaſt. There they built New Vera-Cruz, at ſeventy-two leagues diſtance from the capital of the empire.

New Vera-Cruz is ſituated in a climate rendered diſagreeable and unwholeſome by a burning ſun, and by frequent ſtorms. It is bounded on the North by dry ſands, and on the Weſt by infectious moraſſes. The buildings are all of wood. The only inhabitants are, a moderate garriſon, ſome agents of government, the navigators arriving from Europe, and the commiſſioners that are neceſſary to receive and expedite the cargoes. This harbour is formed by the ſmall iſland of St. Juan de Ulloa. It hath the diſadvantage of not being able to hold more than thirty or thirty-five veſſels, which are not always ſheltered from the northern winds. The entrance into it is by two channels only, which are ſo narrow, that they will not admit more than one ſhip at a time. The ſea in the neighbourhood is likewiſe extremely dangerous, on account of a great number of rocks almoſt even with the ſurface of the water. It was generally thought by the pilots of the country, that nothing but a complete knowlege of the ſituation, acquired by many years experience, could poſſibly have enabled them

them to avoid ſo many ſhoals. Some deſperate pirates having ſurpriſed the place in 1712; towers were then conſtructed on the ſhore, where vigilant centinels are continually on guard for the common ſafety.

It is into this bad harbour, which is properly the only one there is in the Gulph, that the fleet arrives, the deſtination of which is to furniſh Mexico with proviſions. The ſhips that bring them do not land in ſucceſſion. They are fitted out at Cadiz, with a convoy, every two, three, or four years, as occaſions and circumſtances require. They are uſually from twelve to fourteen large merchant ſhips, eſcorted by two ſhips of the line, or by a greater number, if public tranquillity be diſturbed or threatened. In order to prevent the dangers to which they might be expoſed at landing, by the hurricanes, they ſet out from Spain in the months of February, May, or June; in their paſſage, they take in refreſhments at Porto Rico, and arrive, after a voyage of ſeventy or eighty days, at Vera Cruz, from whence their whole cargo is conveyed by mules to Xalapa.

In this town, which is ſituated twelve leagues from the harbour, on the back of a mountain, and well built, is kept a fair, which was limited by the antient regulations to ſix weeks, but which at preſent laſts four months, and which is ſometimes prolonged to a further period, at the ſolicitation of the Spaniſh or Mexican merchants. When the commercial tranſactions are finiſhed, the metals, and other articles given by Mexico in

BOOK VI.

in exchange for the productions and merchandize of Europe, are ſent to Vera Cruz, where they are embarked for our hemiſphere. The ſeaſons for diſpatching them are not all equally favourable. It would be dangerous to put to ſea in the months of Auguſt and September, and impoſſible to do it in October and November. The fleet always takes the route of the Havannah, where it is joined by veſſels from Honduras, Carthagena, and other places. It ſtops there ten or twelve days, to take in freſh proviſions, and to allow time to the ſhips to freight themſelves with ſugar, tobacco, and other articles ſupplied by the iſland of Cuba. The ſhips then ſail through the ſtreights of Bahama; they continue their courſe to the height of New England, and after ſailing for a long time in this latitude of forty degrees, they at length veer to the ſouth-eaſt, to come in view of Cape St. Vincent, and to proceed to Cadiz.

In the interval between the ſailing of one fleet and the other, the court of Madrid ſends out one or two men of war, which are called Azogues, to carry to Mexico the quickſilver that is neceſſary for working the mines. This quickſilver was originally draw'n from Peru; but the commiſſions were ſo uncertain, ſo ſlow, and ſo often fraudulent, that in 1734 it was judged to be more convenient to ſend it from Europe. The mines of Guadalcanal at firſt furniſhed the means. Theſe were afterwards forſaken for the richer mines of Almaden, in Eſtramadura. The Azogues, on their

their return, take charge of the produce of the ſales that have been made ſince the departure of the fleet, of the ſums repaid for credit granted, and of the funds which the Mexican merchants chooſe to employ on their own account in the next expedition. The government habitually allows three or four merchantmen to accompany theſe ſhips. Their whole cargo ſhould conſiſt of fruits and liquors; but other more important articles are fraudulently introduced. Theſe merchantmen always return with their ballaſt, unleſs by ſpecial favour they ſhould be allowed to take in ſome cochineal.

If the departure of the fleet be delayed from reaſons of convenience or policy, the court ſends one of it's ſhips from the Havannah to Vera Cruz. It there takes charge of every thing that belongs to government, and of the metals which the debtors, or ſpeculating perſons, chooſe to ſend from the New Hemiſphere into the Old.

From 1748 to 1753, one year with another, New Spain ſent to the mother-country, by the way of Vera Cruz and of Honduras, 62,661,466 livres *, 574,550 † of which were in gold, 43,621,497 ‡ in ſilver, and 18,465,419 ‖ in productions, at the price in Europe.

Of the productions, there were to the amount of 529,200 livres § for the crown, and 17,936,219 ¶ for the merchants.

* 2,610,894 l. 8 s. 4 d.
† 23,939 l. 11 s. 8 d.
‡ 1,817,562 l. 7 s. 6 d.
‖ 769,392 l. 9 s. 2 d.
§ 22,049 l. 19 s. 4 d.
¶ 747,342 l. 9 s. 2 d.

Of

BOOK VI.

Of the gold and silver, there were to the amount of 25,649,040 livres * for trade, 12,067,007 livres † for the agents of the government, or for private persons who meant to remit their fortunes to Europe, and 6,480,000 livres ‡ for the government.

The court of Madrid cannot fail of seeing this tribute increase; and it is upon the following reasons that this conjecture is founded.

Mexico was formerly without any means of defence: for what was to be expected from a few tradesmen, whom each city might put under arms, when the state was threatened with any danger of greater or less importance? Six regiments of infantry, and two of cavalry, were soon formed out of these scattered militia, and who have since been disciplined by officers sent from Europe. Time extended the ideas of government. Men, accustomed to the occupations of the arts and of commerce, did not appear to afford a sufficient support to authority; and it was determined to raise, in the country itself, two battalions of infantry, and two regiments of dragoons, who should have none other but the military profession. After the peace of 1763, the government thought that a people, enervated by idleness and by the climate, were but ill adapted to war; and they sent some regular troops from the mother-country into the colony. This system is still followed, and there are always three or four battalions from our continent at Mexico, which are

* 1,048,710 l.
† 502,791 l. 19 s. 2 d.
‡ 270,000 l.

only

only relieved after they have ſtaid there four years.

To theſe means of preſervation others have been added, not leſs effectual. The iſland of St. Juan de Ulloa, which forms the harbour of Vera Cruz, and which is to defend it, had but a few bad fortifications. Theſe have been razed. Some extenſive and ſolid works, calculated to make the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, have been lately conſtructed upon their ruins, and in the body of the rock. If, contrary to every appearance, this key of Mexico ſhould be forced, the country, even after this misfortune, would not be without defence. At the diſtance of four-and-twenty leagues from the ſea, and at the opening of the mountains, in a plain which nothing can command, the foundations of the magnificent citadel of Perole were laid in 1770. The arſenals, the barracks, the magazines, and every part of it, are bomb-proof.

According to all appearances, the court of Madrid will never leſſen the number of troops they keep in New Spain: but that part of the public revenue which the fortifications uſed to abſorb, cannot fail of increaſing their treaſures, unleſs they ſhould employ them in the colony itſelf, in forming ſome uſeful eſtabliſhments. Already large docks are opened upon the borders of the river Alvarado, where woods for ſhip-building abound. This novelty is of fortunate preſage, and will undoubtedly be followed by others. Perhaps, after having remained for three centuries

BOOK VI.

ries in a ſtate of oppreſſion or lethargy, Mexico will at length fulfil the important deſtination to which it hath been ſo long called up in vain by nature. In this comfortable hope, let us take our leave of North America, in order to go into the ſouthern part of that continent, where we ſhall ſee, by an arrangement of providence which will never change, the ſame effects produced by the ſame cauſes; the ſame animoſities excited by the ſame barbarity; the ſame precautions ſuggeſted by the ſame apprehenſions; the ſame oppoſitions raiſed by the ſame jealouſies; where we ſhall ſee one robbery giving riſe to another; one diſgrace avenged by a ſubſequent diſgrace; where we ſhall ſtill ſee ſtupid perſeverance in evil, and find a leſſon of unavailing experience.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.